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JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
LONDON.

FOUNDED 1866.

27037

VOL. VII.

059.0754

J. E. I. A.

LONDON:
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,
20, GREAT GEORGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

1873.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, FEB. 25, 1873.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., M.P. (Chairman of the Council of the Association), IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by ILTUDUS T. PRICHARD, Esq.

The Central Asian Question.

THE attendance was very large and influential, and amongst those present were the Right Hon. Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., President of the Association; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I., M.P., Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Association; C. B. Denison, Esq., M.P.; General W. Richardson; General J. D. Macpherson; Sir Henry Green; Colonel P. T. French; Colonel A. B. Rathborne; Colonel A. P. S. Green; Colonel Trevelyan; Colonel Searle; Colonel M. Green; Colonel Hood; Colonel Brereton; Colonel Stuart; William Tayler, Esq.; John Dickinson, Esq.; S. G. Grady, Esq.; Captain W. C. Palmer; Surg.-Major Aitcheson; Surg.-Major Kennedy; Surg.-Major Townshend; M. J. Wallhouse, Esq.; K. G. Gupta, Esq.; P. Venkatakrishnama Naidoo, Esq.; &c., &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, announced that Mr. I. T. Prichard—who was well known in connection with Indian affairs—would give an address on the subject, which, if measured by the vastness of its probable results, was the most important and most interesting question of the day—the “Central Asian Question.” (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ILTUDUS T. PRICHARD then read the following address:—

It will be unnecessary for me to preface the few remarks I have to offer upon the subject of the paper by dwelling upon the vast importance which the Central Asian Question has assumed. And while dealing with a subject of so much public interest, I am most fortunate in having had the opportunity last night of hearing the address delivered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, before the Royal Geographical Society, upon the boundaries of Badakshan and Wakhan. I was exceedingly glad to have that opportunity before reading my paper, because the information

thus derived from the fountain-source will prevent me from falling into error and misleading any who hear me. The subject is a complex one, and the representations of it that have appeared in the newspapers, both in this country and abroad, the allusions to it in Parliament, and the replies of Ministers, are so various and so incomplete, that it has been really impossible till now for the outside public to form any accurate idea of the points at issue. So far as my own views are concerned, which I shall have the honour of laying before you briefly to-day, they have undergone no alteration, but have rather been confirmed by the statements of Sir Henry Rawlinson, which, coming from such a quarter, may be looked upon as official.

Briefly then, the present condition of affairs is this: the British Government and the Russian Government agreed to define the boundaries of Afghanistan, and to accept the line of the Oxus practically as the northern boundary. This includes within Afghan territory the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan. Now, as regards Badakshan, apart from the question whether it was entitled to be considered Afghan territory at all, it is certain that some portions of that territory, of no great extent, are on the right bank of the Oxus. Thus the famous ruby mines are on the right bank. But it is said that the Afghans will make no objection to surrendering their right to such portions of the territory as lie north of the Oxus. The ruby mines, once so productive, Sir Henry Rawlinson tells us, have not been worked for the last fifty years, and are of no practical value. As regards Wakhan, the maps in use in the Russian Foreign-office differ most materially from those sources of information upon which our own Foreign-office depends. The difference has arisen from a very curious circumstance, or rather series of circumstances, which I cannot now stay to detail. But in effect—so Sir Henry Rawlinson tells us—Colonel Yule has very recently discovered that the maps in use in Russia were copies of maps compiled from surveys made by the Chinese years ago. These surveys were made and mapped in squares, each square taking in a certain portion of territory, and the whole being put together by some cartographer subsequently. In putting the squares together, the square representing Wakhan was by accident turned round, so that the result is that the Russian map represents the territory of Wakhan, as it were, sideways, and this brings the territory in the map close up to and contiguous with Kerategin, a province or state in alliance with Bokhara, and therefore under Russian influence. The course of the Oxus is therefore distorted and made by the Russians to flow north and south, instead of east and west. This very extraordinary circumstance will of course account for any amount of diplomatic complications, which are usually intricate enough without the aid of inverted

maps, distorted rivers, and misplaced provinces. I may add that Mr. Shaw, the illustrious traveller, was present last night, and stated that, although he had never been actually in Wakhan, he had met and conversed frequently with Natives of that province, and they described their country as occupying the position we assign to it in our maps. All the information—which until last night was, I believe, confined to Sir Rawlinson and a few others who have been engaged with himself, for some years past, in endeavouring to disentangle this knot—only goes to strengthen my argument, which is directed to show briefly that it was a mistake our ever concerning ourselves with the boundaries at all.

To those who take a superficial view of the matter, it may appear that the crisis has passed, and that the correspondence between the Russian and our own Government, which was published in the *Times* of the 13th inst., and has been laid before Parliament (concluding as it did with a very remarkable despatch of Prince Gortchakoff, in which the Russian Government was made to appear to consent to the terms insisted on by Lord Granville), has settled the question, at all events for the present. I use the phrase "very remarkable" with reference to that despatch advisedly. I shall shortly show you why. But I shall also show you, as I hope, that so far from the Central Asian question being definitely settled by this correspondence, it has in reality only taken a new phase, and that in effect, so far from being concluded or definitely settled, it may with more propriety be described as having been only now opened. At least, the aspect it has now assumed is so much more serious than that which it before exhibited, that, for all practical purposes, it is as if the question were only now opened.

I am not alluding here to the geographical differences, which may very easily be settled by a joint survey, unless, indeed, it should turn out that the country itself has been turned upside down.

Although, however, I use these phrases, I must not be understood as taking what is called the alarmist view of the case. On the contrary, you will see that while the line I am about to adopt is opposed to that which is generally taken by writers and politicians—being based, as I venture to think, on a somewhat closer investigation into the circumstances and conditions attending the position of affairs than is usually accorded by our fellow-countrymen to Indian or Asiatic questions—while the line I take is opposed to the more general and popular view, it is one eminently pacific in its character, and calculated to allay rather than to foster excitement.

I shall take for granted that those who hear me are familiar with the outlines of the frontier question, and familiar enough with the geographical position of the several countries and states in Central Asia to understand

my allusions to them. It would be impossible for me now to enter into an explanation, which would necessarily be somewhat lengthy, of the geographical features of the case, or to sketch, however briefly, the history of Russian progress in Asia.

I shall commence from the point at which the question had arrived when the first of the recently published despatches from Lord Granville was penned. I shall, by a brief sketch of the correspondence, put you in possession of the main features of the case as therein stated, and then proceed to demonstrate, as I hope to do, that public opinion in this country is in error on three very radical points, in consequence of which our Government is bent upon taking a step which, to say the least, is, in my opinion, a very grievous political mistake. It is doubtful, indeed, whether that step has already not been taken so far as to compromise the country very seriously. I say doubtful, because we do not know what has passed since the last despatch of Prince Gortchakoff was received at the Foreign-office. In any case, it is most desirable that the subject should be ventilated; and if anything that is said in this room to-day, either by myself or in the course of the discussion which I hope will follow my short paper, should have the effect of inducing public men to reconsider the whole question, and to look again before they take the final leap, the time we shall have devoted to the matter will not have been thrown away.

It appears, then, that the settlement of the boundaries of Afghanistan, or the defining of an "intermediary zone" between Russian and English dominions in Central Asia, having been pressed upon the Russian Government, the latter instructed General Kaufmann to obtain the information necessary to determine the point. And that information not having been furnished, the British Government became impatient, and on the 17th October, 1872, Lord Granville drew attention to the delay, and pressed for a settlement. At the same time, he pointed out that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the following ought to be regarded as within the territories and boundaries of Afghanistan, viz :—

1. Badakshan, with the district of Wakhan, the boundary of which would be a line drawn from the Sarikol or Wood's Lake on the east, to the junction of the Kouktscha River with the Oxus. This to form the northern boundary of Afghanistan.

2. Afghan Turkestan, comprising the districts of Kunduz, Khalm, and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kouktscha River to the post of Khedja Saleh inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara to Balkh.

3. The internal district of Aktchi, Seripool, Meimené, Chibbirgan, and Andkhohi, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier

possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to the independent tribes of Turcomans.

4. The western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and Persian Khorassan is sufficiently well known.

We next have a letter from Prince Gortchakoff to Baron Brunnow, of Dec. 7, 1872, sketching the negotiations as far as they had then taken place, and adding that General Kaufmann had been unable to complete his report before, but that the information he had collected was in course of being put into shape, when Lord Granville's despatch, calling attention to the delay, arrived.

General Kaufmann's memoranda follow, in which he points out that the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan in no sense belong to Afghanistan. Wakhan (he says) is a barren, unproductive region, lying to the east of Badakshan, and to a certain extent dependent on it—at least the chiefs of Wakhan once a-year pay a sum of money to the chief of Badakshan. As to the latter, he maintains that Shere Ali, the present Ameer of Cabul, could have no pretension to the possession of it as an inheritance bequeathed to him by Dost Mahommed, and that his authority is not yet established there. He deprecates the recognition of Shere Ali's claim to it by Russia and England, as being likely to induce him to make himself master of the country. As to Aktchi and the other towns mentioned, he says there are doubts as to the actual possession of those places by Afghanistan, but the region being separated from the state of Bokhara by an almost impassable desert, there would be little fear of any immediate collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara in that quarter.

Lord Granville's next letter (Jan. 8, 1873) details the results of the visit of Count Schuvaloff to London, and points out that the only point in which there was any difference of opinion between the two Governments was as to whether Badakshan and Wakhan were to be considered a part of Afghanistan, or whether Prince Gortchakoff's view was to be adopted, and this region was to be considered as an "intermediary zone" between Afghanistan and the Russian dominions.

But in the concluding despatch, dated January 19 (old style), 31 (new style), 1873, which is his reply to a second despatch from Lord Granville, urging again the view of the British Cabinet, Prince Gortchakoff yields the point. And as this despatch determines the point at issue, and will form the basis of any future negotiations that may arise on the subject, it is necessary to view rather closely the terms in which Prince Gortchakoff expresses himself. He says—

"The divergence which existed in our views was with regard to the "frontiers assigned to the dominions of Shere Ali.

“The English Cabinet includes within them Badakshan and Wakhan, which, according to our views, enjoyed a certain independence. Considering the difficulty experienced in establishing the facts in all their details in those distant parts—considering the greater facilities which the British Government possess for collecting precise *data*, and, above all, considering our wish not to give to this question of detail greater importance than is due to it,—we do not refuse to accept the line of boundary laid down by England.

“We are the more inclined to this act of courtesy, as the English Government engages to use all its influence with Shere Ali in order to induce him to maintain a peaceful attitude, as well as to insist on his giving up all measures of aggression or further conquest. This influence is indisputable. It is based not only on the material and moral ascendancy of England, but also on the subsidies for which Shere Ali is indebted to her. Such being the case, we see in this assurance a real guarantee for the maintenance of peace.”

The explanation given by Count Schuvaloff of the object and design of the Khiva expedition is briefly alluded to in Lord Granville's letter of the 8th January, in terms with which the public is by this time sufficiently familiar—viz., that the object of the expedition was only to liberate the Russian captives, and to teach the Khan of Khiva that the practice of brigandage and kidnapping could no longer be allowed. It is to be hoped the lesson which is to be taught the Khan of Khiva will serve as a warning to other potentates and people in that part of the world. There is no Englishman who would not wish the Russian expedition, bent on such an errand as this, “God-speed.”

But to return to Prince Gortchakoff's last despatch. The basis upon which the relations between England and Russia are placed by the despatch just quoted is by no means a satisfactory one. It is clear that it leaves exactly that ground for future discussion, and possibly misunderstanding which it is the object of diplomacy (not a very noble object) to introduce, where it is possible to introduce it, into every negotiation. Who can say, from reading these paragraphs, to what extent the English Government is pledged to influence political affairs beyond the Indus? Who can say what interpretation may be put upon the words “such guarantee for the maintenance of peace,” a few years—nay, a few months hence? Who shall say what England is to do or not to do to satisfy Russia that these conditions have been kept—conditions, be it observed, admitted for the consideration of the concession by Russia of this point, the independence of Badakshan and Wakhan? There is a consideration, and a concession on the ground of that consideration, and that, I believe, is generally held to constitute a contract.

I cannot but regard the condition of affairs as pregnant with future mischief. Popular opinion in the country, so far as it is formed upon the subject, appears to me to be in error upon three points:—

1. That the occupation of Khiva by Russia would make a material difference in the relative position between Russia and England in Central Asia, and that the change of relations would operate unfavourably for the peace of British India.

2. That the natural boundaries of British India are so incapable of defence, that it is necessary, or at any rate advisable, to seek a more readily-defended frontier further north towards the Oxus; and—

3. That, by securing the neutrality of the regions intervening between the British and the Russian frontier, we shall improve our own position and weaken that of our rival.

Let us examine these three points in order:—

1. As to the occupation of Khiva.

I use the word occupation advisedly, for although it is well known that the Russian Government gives out that it is not its intention to do more than exact reparation from the Khan of Khiva for his misdeeds, and to take some guarantee for the future, yet we know, from our Indian experience, in what these intentions end. It is useless to quote, as some have done, the case of Abyssinia, and to argue that, because we contented ourselves with liberating our captives from the clutches of King Theodore, and abandoned the country when our object was attained, the Russians will do the same. Khiva, lying as it does in the pathway of Russia towards an Asiatic Empire, when it has once been overrun by Russian troops, will never again be independent. It lies in the direct route between the sea of Aral and the territory of Bokhara. Its occupation, therefore, by Russia, sooner or later, is necessary as a connecting link in her communications.

But in effect the whole of Count Schuvaloff's representations in the matter, to the effect that there was no intention of annexation, were simply meaningless. For all practical purposes, the occupation of Khiva means the navigation of the Oxus, and a free passage for Russia through the territory. This, you will see, is to be secured. At least, the following passage from the *St. Petersburg Mir*, quoted by the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, the other day, indicates pretty clearly the line of action it is intended to take: "After the capture of Khiva or the defeat of the Khivese troops in the field, should they come out to meet us in the open, it will be proper to make the Khan reimburse the cost of the expedition, and to exact a treaty, giving us the Delta of the Amou, and the right of navigation on the river. We shall then either locate a garrison at

“Kungrad, or construct a fortress on the banks of the Amou, with a suitable port for our squadron. This accomplished, we had better remove our Sir Darya vessels to the Amou, they having done us precious little service in their present unfavourable situation. The Sir Darya, flowing right across the roads our commerce has to take, has not been of much use to our traders, and will scarcely ever be so in the future; *but the Amou passing both by Khiva and Bokhara, and coming down from the very heart of the Asiatic continent, will establish a capital communication between our outlying possessions and Russia Proper.* If we once have a port at the mouth of the Amou Darya, and if we keep in it a garrison strong enough to punish the Khan at any time should he take it into his head to violate the treaty, we may also hope to restore order in our steppes, protect our Khivese subjects, and introduce a regular administration among them.” I must confess I do not see how England could reasonably oppose the conquest and annexation of that territory, were Russia determined upon such a step. Such an attempt would be regarded by us, were the position reversed, as an unreasonable demand, which a rival Power had no right to make. And I am quite sure, were England in the position which Russia occupies, she would never listen for a moment to any representations on the part of Russia to forego the conquest and annexation of the province, were she determined upon that step.

Our Indian experience has surely taught us what kind of relations are likely to be established between a great European Power bent on carrying out a certain line of policy in Asia, and an Asiatic State which is forced into a sort of alliance such as appears, according to Count Schuvaloff, to be projected in the case of Khiva. It will make no difference, so far as regards the point of view from which we contemplate Russian aggression in Central Asia, whether Khiva is conquered and annexed, or only subjected to that political influence which is likely to arise after reparation has been exacted at the point of Russian bayonets, and a guarantee for future good behaviour secured. So far as the Central Asian question is concerned, the annexation of Khiva and the possession of the Oxus, and the right, or the power, to pass troops and *matériel* of war through the country, are one and the same. Whether we have anything to fear from Russian aggression, is quite another matter; we may or we may not. But if we have, it is certain the danger is very little, if at all, increased by the expedition against Khiva; nor will it be increased much when that territory has been conquered and annexed, as conquered and annexed it will be, in spite of all we may say; for Russia could at any time, if she were determined to do it, avail herself of the Oxus for the transport of men and military stores.

2. There is a vague notion abroad that the natural boundaries of British India are so incapable of defence, that it is necessary to seek a more readily defended position further north towards the Oxus. This is a strange misapprehension, for it would be exceedingly difficult to find, in all the world, a country better provided by nature with impregnable defences than India—that is, if we make the proper use of them. I shall take for granted that the outline of the British Indian frontier is familiar to my readers. It would be too serious a task, and occupy too much space, to describe its geographical details minutely here. With the Eastern frontier, from the Bay of Bengal northwards to Cashmere, we need not here concern ourselves; for in what I must be allowed to call the very improbable event of an invasion of India from the West, we need take no account of the frontier line of defence southwards and eastwards of Cashmere. The province of Cashmere itself, however, holds a very important place in these considerations, for probably this province is more accessible from the highlands of Eastern Turkestan than is the valley of the Indus from the highlands of Afghanistan. Cashmere, however, is within easy reach of British troops, and a military occupation of the valley by our soldiers would effectually secure British India on that side. At no time in its history, I believe, has India ever been invaded from the side of Cashmere. And the geographical features of this region are such as to make it the strongest strategical position to defend it is possible to conceive. It is a large natural fortress surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains. We have access to the interior of the fortress, and could throw a British garrison of any strength into it at a fortnight's notice.

From the western corner of this natural fortress, all the way, right down to the sea-coast of Sind, the British frontier is provided by nature with a line of defences such as scarcely any other country in the world enjoys. It is impossible to conceive a stronger barrier, or one more readily defended. It is as if Nature herself had provided India with this enormous wall or chain of fortresses, 1,200 miles in extent, from Peshawur to the sea, for the purpose of keeping her isolated from the rest of Asia, and as a warning to the people not to embroil themselves in the affairs of nations and tribes outside her limits. At the foot of this range of mountains there is a belt of low level land, varying in breadth, as you may see on the map, before you come to the river Indus, which may thus be considered as forming an inner line of defence. The mountain ranges are penetrated by a few passes from the highlands of Central Asia, the principal of which are the Khyber Pass, leading direct from Jellalabad on the road to Cabul, to Peshawur and the Bolan, on the direct road from Candahar to Sind. There are a few others

passable by mules and camels, but these are the only two main roads. These mountains are inhabited by tribes of Mahomedans—bold, hardy mountaineers, possessing in a marked degree the characteristics of wild, untamed mountain tribes in other parts of the world. I do not think I can describe these people better than in the language used by Sir R. Temple in a report upon the frontier drawn up about ten years ago; and his diagnosis will be admitted, I think, by all who know these tribes, to be as correct now as it was when it was written. Anything like an accurate census of the inhabitants of these mountains is, of course, unattainable. In the report alluded to, the number of fighting men belonging to the tribes scattered along the frontier from Hazara, on the confines of Cashmere, to the frontier of Sind, is reckoned at about 200,000. Down to this point, the tribes are called collectively Pathans; from thence to Karachi, the races we meet with are in many respects similar to the Pathans—that is, they are hardy, bold, and warlike, but are much more tractable, and are very much more under British influence than the tribes to the northwards. They are familiar to the English reader under the generic name of Beloochees.

Sir R. Temple thus describes the Pathans: “These tribes are savages, noble savages, perhaps not without some traces of virtue and generosity, but still absolutely barbarians. They have nothing approaching to government or civil institutions. They have for the most part no education. They have nominally a religion, but Mahomedanism, as understood by them, is no better, or perhaps is actually worse, than the creeds of the wildest races on the earth. In their eyes the one great commandment is blood for blood, and fire and sword for all infidels—that is, for all people not Mahomedans. They are superstitious and priest-ridden, but their *mullahs* or priests are as ignorant as they are bigoted, and use their influence simply for preaching crusades against unbelievers, and inculcate the doctrine of rapine and bloodshed against the defenceless people of the plains. They are a very sensual race. They are very avaricious; for gold they will do almost anything except betray a guest. They are thievish and predatory to the last degree. The Pathan mother often prays that her son may be a successful robber. They are utterly faithless to public engagements; it would never occur to their minds that an oath on the Koran was binding, if against their interests. It must be added that they are fierce and bloodthirsty. They are never without weapons: when grazing their cattle, when driving beasts of burden, when tilling the soil, they are still armed. They are perpetually at war with each other. Every tribe and section of a tribe has its internecine wars, every family its hereditary blood feud, and every individual his personal foes; there

“is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Each person counts up his murders; each tribe has a debtor and creditor account with its neighbour, life for life. Reckless of the lives of others, they are not sparing of their own. They consider retaliation and revenge to be the strongest of all obligations. They possess gallantry and courage themselves, and admire such qualities in others. Men of the same party will stand by one another in danger. In their minds hospitality is the first of virtues. Any person who can make his way into their dwellings will not only be safe, but will be kindly received. But as soon as he has left the roof of his entertainer he may be robbed or killed. They are charitable to the indigent of their own tribe. They cherish the pride of birth as regards ancestral associations. They are not averse to civilization wherever they have felt its benefits; they are fond of trading, and also of cultivating; but they are too fickle and excitable to be industrious in agriculture or anything else. They will take military service, and, though impatient of discipline, will prove faithful unless excited by fanaticism. Such,” briefly says Sir Richard Temple, “is their character, replete with unaccountable inconsistencies with that mixture of opposite vices and virtues belonging to savages.”

Up to the present time we have never considered these tribes, and the rugged, rocky, inaccessible fastnesses they occupy, in any other light than as a source of possible danger. They have frequently given trouble, and military expeditions have had to be sent into their rocky retreats, to exact reparation for some outrage, border raids, plundering, and the like. The success which has attended these expeditions has been various. I think the Government has of late come to entertain the opinion that it is less expensive and less dangerous to punish them by cutting off their supplies and putting a stop to their traffic with the lowlanders in the plains, than to send military expeditions against them; for our people always get hard knocks, and not unfrequently a British force has had to quit the territory of an unconquered foe, the last shot being fired into the rear-guard of the retreating brigade in derision and contempt.

But to the same degree in which these races might prove dangerous if incited to act in unison against us, to an equal degree, under prudent and politic management, might they be made the strongest bulwark of British India. It is not too much to say that, while the mountain tribes were disposed to defend the passes against an invading host approaching from Central Asia, the frontier would be in perfect security. No Power, however great, could penetrate that formidable belt of mountains with which nature has, as it were, protected Hindustan, if the inhabitants were resolutely determined to oppose it. An army—however well appointed,

however well furnished with supplies, however well led—could never make its way from Persia or Afghanistan to India in the face of a determined opposition from the warlike races who hold the intervening territory. Our expeditions into the hills have indeed been to a certain extent successful, and, compared with a large army such as an invading Power would find it necessary to bring, the troops employed in these expeditions have been but a mere handful. But our object has never been to accomplish more than to make good an advance for a short distance, and then retire again after destroying a few villages and crops. Even then our victory has often been but a doubtful one. Our troops, on their return from Cabul, fought their way, it is true, through a portion of the Khyber Pass. What would have been its fate, had it attempted to force its way in face of a gathering of the whole frontier tribes? What would be the fate of an invading army, far from its resources, fighting its way, inch by inch, step by step, across that difficult country, in the face of a hostile mountain population, with a prospect at the end, if it ever reached that end, of encountering, on its own ground and within easy reach of its resources, the whole flower of the British Army?

That these people are amenable to personal influence, has been proved by the career of such men as Generals Jacob and Nicholson, and Major James. With judicious management—such as men of ability and great natural genius for dealing with rough, untamed people know how to exercise—these Pathans and Beloochees might be made to do anything almost, except desert their barren, rocky fastnesses, of which they are so fond. I cannot stay to dwell upon this now, but those of you who are at all familiar with the history of British India during the last twenty or thirty years, know in how many instances it has been proved that personal influence and skilful treatment of these tribes have rectified grievous political errors, extinguished the flames of war even when kindled by religious zeal, and kept in check the aggressive spirit of fanatical leaders, strong in the enthusiastic devotion of tens of thousands of followers.

Under such men as those I have named, and others like them, this, the natural frontier of India, might be made *absolutely impregnable*. And when the State railways are completed, which will put our extreme frontier posts in direct communication with the seaports of Bombay and Karachi, the military position, so far as regards defence from foreign attack, will be just as strong as the military position of any country *could possibly be*. Surely it would be madness to take our troops 600 miles across a difficult country, to fight an enemy on the Oxus, 600 miles further from our own resources (the enemy being so much nearer their own resources), for the sake of gaining a defensible frontier.

General Jacob and, more recently, Sir H. Green have shown how, by the occupation of Quetta, at the head of the Bolan Pass, the frontier on this side of India can be still more effectually secured.

In a conflict between two Powers so equally matched as England and Russia, in the distant regions of Central Asia, the proximity of either Power to its own resources will be so important an element in the struggle as almost, if not quite, to turn the scale. This consideration alone ought to be sufficient to put an end at once to all hesitation about the Euphrates Valley Railway scheme.

3. It is a favourite notion that by securing the independence or neutrality of the region intervening between the British and the Russian frontier, we shall improve our own position and weaken that of our rival.

For my own part, I am at a loss to understand how such an idea as this could be entertained by any one who has studied the history of Central Asiatic States and the character of the people. In European politics, and within the limits of Western experience, a theory of the value of independent neutral territory between two rival Powers is natural enough. But nine-tenths of our errors in India may be traced to the habit of applying principles of politics and political economy to conditions wholly different from those under which these principles have been applied, within our own experience, in Europe and the West. And of all the States of Central Asia, Afghanistan is perhaps the one to which the principles of European policy are the least applicable. The government of Afghanistan may be described as a government by party, so far like our own; only there is this important difference—that in Afghanistan the party out of power is not content with endeavouring to oust its rival by the force of public opinion, but aims at its destruction by the assassination of the leaders of the opposition, and, if that is not possible, it seeks its overthrow by open war. And the two parties or the two clans, the one in power and the other in opposition, are generally pretty evenly balanced. A sovereign, indeed, once in possession of the throne and of the capital, may succeed in retaining his power during a long reign, as did Dost Mahommed; but he always maintains it with difficulty, and *the weight of a sovereign Power, like England or Russia, would be always sufficient to turn the scale against him.*

The mistake that has been made is, that England has taken upon herself an onerous duty which she cannot possibly perform without involving herself in Afghan politics to an extent that cannot fail to be embarrassing and may be dangerous, or without herself violating the very principle of neutrality for which she has been contending, and this for no adequate consideration. Several writers, seeing the absurdity of

our guaranteeing the good conduct or peaceable behaviour of an Afghan ruler, have advocated the military occupation of the territory, forgetting that to occupy it ourselves would be a violation of the agreement whereby we declare it is to be an "intermediary zone." But these writers are correct from one point of view. The Home Secretary might as well guarantee the orderly conduct of a gang of roughs haunting the worst dens of vice in the metropolis without sending the police to look after them, as the Foreign Secretary and Lord Northbrook guarantee the peaceable conduct of Shere Ali without sending British troops into his country.

But Afghan politics are, at the best of times, hazardous matters to deal with. Our past experience in that field is not such as to encourage us to fresh ventures. When complicated by Russian intrigue, they become to an English minister or viceroy absolutely unmanageable. The British nation may guarantee Afghan territory—who is to guarantee immunity from Russian intrigue? It was commonly said in India—and I believe it to be true—that Shere Ali, when a fugitive from his throne, recovered it with the aid of Russia. How he recovered the throne, if he had no such aid, is absolutely incomprehensible to all who have watched the course of recent events in Afghanistan. We have it in General Kaufmann's own hand, that he has been in frequent communication with Shere Ali. In all his communications he said he endeavoured to impress upon Shere Ali the friendly feeling that existed between Russia and England. It may be said that Russia is also declared to have aided, and to be aiding, Abdool Rahman, Shere Ali's nephew and rival claimant to the throne, and that she is not likely to be aiding Shere Ali too. Have we never read in Indian history of such a thing as aiding first one, then another rival Power, or both at once, and making capital by the principle so well known to skilful diplomatists, "Heads I win, tails you lose"?

The probable results of an interference will be this. England will find that she is powerless to control the Afghans without being on the spot to enforce her commands. She will, with the consent of Russia (and Russia, for very good reasons, will be only too glad to give her consent), occupy the country with her troops. Now, whatever foreign Power enters Afghanistan, in alliance with, or as a support to, the reigning dynasty, would appear to the people, and would be represented by the opposition, as an intruder. No matter how strong, for the time, the party in power might be, its foreign ally, especially if that ally were a European or a Christian State, would be regarded by the people of the country generally with the hatred with which the Afghan always regards the foreigner. No matter what its motives, what its policy, what its inten-

tions,—its presence in the country would be regarded as an outrage, and the patriotism of the people would be roused against it. In the case of a Christian Power thus occupying the country, the fire of religious fanaticism would add its force to the patriotic determination to get rid of the foreign yoke at any cost. To secure the independence or neutrality of Afghanistan, we must occupy the country; and to occupy the country in such a way that the occupation of it shall be a source of strength, and not of weakness, it will be necessary to subdue it as completely as Russia has subjected Circassia. Should such occupation be attempted, either by England or by Russia, the rival Power would only have to present itself in the guise of a deliverer from a foreign yoke, to be greeted with hearty sympathy by the mass of the people.

But so great is the jealousy of foreign interference, that if England, for instance, were merely to subsidize the reigning Power and give assistance in troops and money, that alone would be a sufficient pretext for Russia to claim and to receive the sympathy of the popular party in support of some rival claimant to the throne. On the other hand, should Russia ever occupy Afghanistan—a step she is a great deal too wary ever to take—we should only have to enter the country as liberators, to enlist the popular feeling on our side. Either Russia or England is strong enough to conquer and hold Afghanistan, if it should ever be worth the while of either Power to put forth its strength for such a purpose; but neither could hold it against the other *plus* the bulk of the Afghan nation.

We have only to look at the conquest of Circassia to realize the force of this. In many respects there is considerable similarity between the natural characteristics of the Afghans and the Circassians. Probably there is not much difference between the populations of the two regions. It took Russia thirty years to effect the conquest of Circassia, with all the advantages of proximity to her resources. If we imagine the conquest attempted under conditions similar to those which would attend a like effort in Afghanistan—that is to say, with a powerful European nation close at hand to aid the mountaineers in maintaining their independence—it is not going too far to say that the subjugation of the country would have been an impossibility.

This, then, is the reason why it is a fatal mistake to have anything to do with the maintenance of the neutrality of the regions intervening between the Indus and the Oxus. We may safely leave it alone. Russia may annex all the rest of Asia, but her diplomacy is of far too high an order for her ever to place herself in such a false position, politically, as she would hold if she were to occupy Afghanistan. But while it is the very last thing she will ever do, it is the very thing she

would like to see England attempt. No wonder Count Schuvaloff was represented as returning to St. Petersburg well pleased with the result of his mission, if the message he took with him was one in any way foreshadowing a British occupation of Afghanistan, or a declaration on the part of the British Government that it would insist on the neutrality of that region. All the excitement about Khiva is aside of the real issue. Russia holds a trump card, and the moment England plays the card she is waiting for, she trumps it and takes the trick. It is very doubtful whether that card has not just been played. If the despatch of Prince Gortchakoff, which I have quoted, and which is a perfect masterpiece of astute diplomacy, be not very carefully dealt with—that is, if the responsibility with which that despatch seeks to saddle England be not plainly and clearly repudiated at once—the English Government will step into the very trap prepared for it. For let England once guarantee or commit herself to the policy of maintaining the neutrality of Afghanistan, and Russia has it in her power, when she pleases, as she pleases, and at the spot she chooses to select, to force England into war, hundreds of miles from our own impregnable British Indian frontier and from our resources. Thus having it in her power to paralyze England in Asia, her triumph will be complete, not in the conquest of India, for of that she probably never dreamed, but in the acquisition of Constantinople, of which she dreams very often both by night and day.

I have called the subject of my paper “The Central Asian Question,” out of deference to the prevailing fashion of the day; but, in reality, the Central Asian Question is nothing but an old friend under another name. Is it reasonable to suppose Russia is expending her resources (her recent acquisitions in these regions have already cost her 6,000,000*l.* sterling*) in absorbing, by diplomacy and conquest alternately, the crumbling dynasties and almost barren territories of Central Asia, inhabited by poverty-stricken populations and nomad tribes, for the sake of presenting an enormously-extended geographical boundary on the map? No one who has studied the history of Europe for the last twenty or thirty years can help being aware, unless something more than judicial political blindness has come over him, that the key to Russian policy in the heart of Asia is to be sought for, and will be found, not in the Oxus, or the Hindu Khoosh, but on the Dardanelles.

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE hoped he might be allowed to offer a few remarks on the present occasion, for the subject under discussion was one to which he had given much study for many years. He quite agreed

* *Times*, Feb. 22, 1873.

with Mr. Prichard's animadversions on the folly of our engaging to guarantee the good behaviour of the people in Badakshan; and he also thought it would be a fatal mistake on our part to advance our posts into Afghanistan. It would be nothing short of absolute folly to leave an impregnable frontier in order to place reliance on the order and integrity of the wild tribes inhabiting the districts between Afghanistan and India, for that would involve dependence on them for the maintenance of peace, and in the event of war we must defend their territory. These robber tribes were without the slightest shadow of principle, and were composed of men who could be bought and sold without difficulty; so that nothing would be more likely than that, after taking a subsidy for order from England, they would turn round and accept a bribe for disorder from Russia. Even if it were politic, it would be degrading to be dependent on such men; but it was not politic. In a military sense, there could be no two opinions that the frontier line of India is the Indus—a line of immense strength; and seeing that the stream is not fordable, it could be easily defended. It would almost be impossible for any army to cross it in the face of the stations which the British could fortify and make perfectly secure against any attacking Power; and even if the enemy succeeded in crossing the Indus, they would have four other great rivers to pass, and with other strong places left in their rear to harass their communications. If an invading army came from Bokhara or Khiva, its point of entry into Afghanistan would be at Herat. Thence the northernmost line of route runs along the base of the Ghor mountains by Bamcan to Cabul, and thence through the Khyber Pass, coming upon the Indus River at Attock. But with Peshawur and Attock in our hands, commanding the mouth of the Khyber Pass, this route would be impossible for it; and even if it could get over these difficulties, and get safely across the Indus, it would have the four other Punjab rivers to pass over, with several other strong places to subdue before it could reach the limit of India Proper. The next route might be from Herat *via* Ghirisk to Candahar, and thence either northwards by Ghuznee, or straight on by Gulnarye to Dera Ismail Khan, where the army would have to cross the Indus. But there there is a perfect network of streams, and the passage of an army at this point could be easily made impossible; while even if the river were crossed, there would be a long distance of almost desert to pass over before it arrived at the Jhelum, and then there would be that and the remaining three Punjab rivers for the Russians to fight their way across. There is another route from Candahar *via* Sira Kela, which would bring the army upon the Indus at Dera Ghazee Khan, nearly opposite Mooltan; but to reach that it would have to come through the Rowat Pass, which could easily be stopped by

us; and even after surmounting these preliminary difficulties, there would be the others before it, already stated. There is another route from Candahar *viâ* Kwettah, through the Bolan Pass, by Dadur and Shikarpore, to Sukkur on the Indus; and another from Candahar *viâ* Moostoong and Khelat through the Gundava Pass, also upon Shikarpore and Sukkur; but both the Bolan Pass and the Gundava Pass could easily be closed by us; and even if it were not so, a Russian army without boats could never, in the face of the opposition it would meet with, cross the Indus at that point. Even if it did, it would find itself before a large tract of country almost desert—the greater part without supplies or even water—before it could reach the nearest point of India Proper. There is, finally, a line of route from Khelat to Somneeanee, and thence across the Brahoi mountains into Scinde, opposite Hyderabad; but that is too far south to be of any use to an army invading India, and it is, besides, impracticable for a large European army. The proper first line of defence, therefore, is the Indus, with Attock on the right of the line and Sukkur on the left, and Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan on the right and left centre, to be occupied in force on the first approach of any enemy; while successive lines of defence in case of the first being forced would be found along each of the four remaining Punjab rivers to come behind it. Such a position would be utterly impregnable by a Russian invading force, or by any other; more especially considering that we should have at hand all our stores and material, as well as our steamers on the Indus, while they would have nothing but what they had brought with them as they advanced through Afghanistan to India; and every ruffian of the districts through which they passed who got an opportunity of plundering them would certainly do so. From such an attempt, therefore, we could have nothing to fear; our only real danger lies in our abandoning this our safe line, and the undoubtedly true line in a military point of view, and trusting for security to the aid of these tribes, whether Afghans or others, with whom we ought to have nothing to do, but leave them, if the Russians liked them, to the Russians.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that the arguments of Colonel Rathborne were entitled to the best consideration, for that gentleman was perfectly familiar with the country of which he spoke, having seen personal service there.

Mr. C. B. DENISON, M.P., said the most important of the questions recently raised in connection with Mr. Prichard's paper was, whether it was worth while, at the present time, for the British Government to make such arrangements with Russia as would guarantee the intermediate country of Afghanistan from invasion from the North and North-west. He thought that, if care was taken that a forced and constrained construction was

not placed upon the word "guarantee" in Lord Granville's recent despatches, they were in a safe position; but it should be distinctly understood on all hands that we are not going to guarantee the integrity of the frontiers of Afghanistan. On the other hand, if it was to be assumed that the British Government, even to the extent of military interference, was to guarantee and uphold the present line of frontier to Afghanistan, then a great diplomatic mistake had been made. We should preserve our liberty of action to act as the circumstances of the day might prompt us. All those who at all interested themselves in Eastern affairs must attach considerable importance and value to the establishment and maintenance of a good understanding between Russia and England, but that good understanding would be far too dearly purchased at the price which might be involved in a treaty of guarantee of the integrity of the Afghan territories and dependencies, which meant an armed interference in certain eventualities. There is also a danger that, after defining boundaries of neutral or guaranteed territories, all countries outside those boundaries may be regarded by the Russians as open to their enterprise, and as of little importance in English estimation. This danger is all the greater in mountain districts so little known as those of Badakshan and Wakhan.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD, M.P., observed that, however much it might now be said that no guarantee was intended, the language used by Prince Gortchakoff implied that the British Government were to be held responsible for the good conduct of the Afghans, and it is more than hinted that it is in our power to do this, because we are now annually subsidizing the Afghans. If the British Government were prepared to take this step—and it had been asserted that this was the case—then a very great and grave responsibility had been assumed, without any possible security for its due performance. It might be that while the present Ameer lived and reigned he might be rendered amenable to British influence, but at his death there would probably arise a host of pretenders to the throne, and the petty chieftains of the borders would take advantage of the disorderly condition of the country to throw off their allegiance to the Afghan Ameer, in which case troubles on the borders would certainly ensue. For his own part, then, he quite agreed with Mr. Prichard, that the British Government were entering upon a system which would lead them into complications, and produce great embarrassment in the future. The result would be that in Cabul and Afghanistan there would be an English resident, and in the end a British protectorate, and the occupation of the country by armed force. How else could the British Government guarantee the good conduct of Afghans without these necessary precautions for insuring order?

Nevertheless, this course would be a grievous and fatal mistake; for whichever European Power occupied the country of the Afghans, would make the people by that act their determined enemies, ready to combine with any who would aid in ousting the invaders. He was glad to be able to quote, in support of this view, the opinions of Sir John (now Lord) Lawrence, shortly before he left India, when he strongly expressed similar opinions. By all means, therefore, let the Russians first interpose in Afghanistan, and the whole of this fighting people would be made their enemies. With regard to the Russian conquest of Khiva, he did not attach any importance to the professions of the Russian Government that the occupation was to be only temporary, and that, after teaching a salutary lesson, the Russian columns would retire. Neither did the Russians' ultimate intentions with regard to Khiva alarm him. The fact was, he would be glad to see Russia permanently occupy Khiva, for she would be doing a great service to humanity in exterminating a horde of marauders; while, at the same time, it gave her no advantage in the furtherance of any designs which she might have upon India. The mouths of the Oxus are not navigable, so that the command of that river does not open communication with the Caspian, nor can India be invaded by the Oxus. He thoroughly agreed with Mr. Prichard and Colonel Rathborne, that, if they had to defend India against an invader, they had a splendid and impregnable frontier line in the mountain ranges of the borders. Through these there were but two practicable passes—the Bolan Pass and the Khyber Pass—each of which could easily be made impassable. The question was simply, is it a wise policy to guarantee the good conduct of Afghanistan? And he had said sufficient to indicate his own opinion that it was neither wise nor called for. It would have been infinitely better had the British Government not spoken at all. The expedition to Khiva did not justify it. The British Government should have preserved its liberty of action; whereas he feared that now Russia could force us into hostilities at any moment she pleased. In point of fact, the present policy was likely to precipitate a collision with Russia which otherwise might never have taken place, and was practically to advance our frontiers from the Indus to the Oxus.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER said there was an old Latin proverb which forcibly occurred to him in the present state of affairs, and it ran to this effect, that there was no evil so great that some good could not be drawn from it. Russophobia had been a great evil in England for a very long period, and, like scarlatina or small-pox in its epidemic phase, had given rise to periodical alarm and consternation amongst even the most sensible English people. It was this which led us into the fatal blunder of the Afghan

war, which resulted in the defeat and disgrace of the British Army; and this also it probably was which on a day of such extreme discomfort, and at an hour inconvenient to so many, had drawn this large and influential meeting together. The disease had now left its sensational stage—there has been a consultation of physicians; and various bulletins had been issued, alarming some and appeasing others. Yet the plain fact which kept itself prominent, despite the cloud of words which had been raised, was that Russia, in pursuance of its policy of aggression, was advancing nearer and nearer to India. In this state of affairs it had apparently been suggested that it would be a wise thing to fix upon and maintain an intermediate zone between the territories of the two empires; so that, like two vultures or pariah dogs, the rival Powers might eye with watering mouths the slice of flesh lying between them, which neither could venture to touch, though each was ready to pounce upon the other at the slightest advance, and rush at his opponent's throat. Whether the institution of such a state of affairs was a triumph of wisdom or the result of infatuation, was a matter upon which there was some difference of opinion; but to him it appeared to be a most dangerous position for the British Government to occupy. However, as far as the East India Association was concerned, they must feel that this great evil had its compensation in the fact that public attention was now being aroused to Indian affairs, that English statesmen and legislators were turning their eyes towards the East, and would at last bestow upon India some of that attention which her importance in the empire deserved. At last there was a chance of India, with its small population of some 240,000,000, occupying its proper position in reference to the parish pump, a parochial squabble, and the price of coals. Now there was a chance that the English Government would feel themselves compelled to take stock of its present position in India, and, perchance, probe and remedy the causes of the discontent which is now being shown against the British rule. For the existence of that discontent was a most important fact, as connected with Russian ambition. The present position of India was this, that the policy of the British Government had resulted, for the first time almost in the history of the country, in alienating the agricultural classes from the existing Government. Doubtless, the Government carried with them a large proportion of the middle classes, and those whose occupations were bound up with the English supremacy; but the Princes and agriculturists were in a very different position. For the first time the talons of Government have reached the agriculturists—the *ryots*; and their respect for authority, maintained hitherto through every revolution or change through which the country has passed, has become permeated with discontent. Hitherto they had kept aloof from

Governmental affairs—content, whether it was a Mahomedan, Hindu, Mahratta, or Englishman who had possession of the country. Now, for the first time, we find these people exhibiting a distinct feeling of irritation and resistance. Even among the lowest classes of Hindu rustics, the word “ticcus,” or “tax,” is spread abroad and mentioned as though it were some evil demon which was cursing the country. This apparently was the result of the vexatious imposition of taxes, and the extortion which accompanies their collection. As regards the Princes of India, he believed that, in spite of all the showy interchange of social amenities, of which so much had recently been made—in spite of the news that great *rajahs* have trod the mazy dance in the assemblies at Government House—there was a secret feeling of dissatisfaction among the nobles and Princes of India—a feeling quite as dangerous as the murmurings of the people. The reason of this was not far to seek; our condition was one of transition in India. We have passed through the periods of infancy and childhood, and now arrived at manhood, but we have not changed our method, but still keep the great feudatory Princes, who were the mainstay of the British Government in the period of the Mutiny, in the swaddling-clothes of infancy. The Government do not give to them those simple guarantees of justice and right-dealing which the poorest Englishman claims as his own, and which would form the firmest bond of loyalty and attachment to the Government; we treat them still as children through all our political relations with them. That justice and rigid impartiality on which the Englishman prides himself, and which is so jealously and so honourably preserved at home, was not called into play in the dealings of the Government with the Indian Princes. In England they had recently seen a Lord Chancellor retire from the bench because he had acted as counsel in the case, and a Lord Chief Justice vacate his seat because he had a small stake in the company whose affairs were under consideration. But while in England they closely watched and scrupulously guarded against any violation of the strict principles of equity and justice, the treatment of the great Princes of India was totally opposite; their causes were tried and adjudged by a Government whose officers were directly interested in the matter, and from this adjudication there was no appeal. In the times that were passed this course might have been defended on the ground of political expediency, seeing that the power of the Government was neither stable nor assured; but, now that the British supremacy was assured beyond a doubt, that plea would not avail, and it was time that they should revert to the principles of justice which were demanded at home. They were now professing to teach the Indian people how to carry out the eternal principles of equity and right-dealing; yet in their

relations with those who did so much to save them in the hour of danger they maintained a secret and unwise course of policy, which would some day produce disastrous results. If, then, the prominence now given to the Russian advance in Central Asia should have the effect of directing public attention to the administration of affairs in India, there would be afforded a striking illustration of the truth of the axiom, that there was no great evil in which there was no redeeming trait of good; and we might yet hope that, in spite of diplomatic blundering and neutral zones, Russophobia would prove to India a blessing in disguise.

The CHAIRMAN said there were three important points in the address of Sir Henry Rawlinson, on the previous night, which had not been mentioned, and to which he would like to draw attention. The first of these was the extraordinary forgery which was committed by the learned linguist, M. Klaproth, and which had now been fully established against him. Sir Henry Rawlinson explained that, for some reason or other—whether for his own pecuniary benefit or not was unknown, or whether from some political motive—M. Klaproth invented three journeys into Central Asia: one, a journey by an officer of the East India Company, another by the Chinese, and the third by a German. These narratives of fictitious journeys were skilfully drawn up, mentioned numerous places, and were illustrated by maps; so that they were received by all sorts of people as correct, and the English and Russian maps were altered in consequence. What could have been the motive of this extraordinary imposture it was now impossible to say, but it was certainly one of the most remarkable forgeries that had ever been put before the world. Whether it was originated by Klaproth as a sort of *tour de force* in order to show his extreme ingenuity, can only be conjectured; but some suspicion of its origin might arise from the fact stated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, that the Russian Government insisted, on geographical grounds, that Wakhan could not be acknowledged to be a portion of Afghanistan, because the power of the Afghans would by such an acknowledgment be extended far to the north, and Wakhan would be side by side with Karategin. This contention on the part of Russia, very likely, was founded upon that forgery, and if so, he must confess that he should be disposed to suspect the motive of the forgery.

Another point which was mentioned by Sir Henry Rawlinson was, that in this region of Wakhan there was no possibility of any force passing through to the invasion of India, except in one place, and that towards the Pámir Steppe, where the ascent was only a thousand feet, and very gradual. The other parts of the country contained nothing, and were thinly populated by an untameable people, whose chieftains had been independent from all time, and whom no race of conquerors had ever been able to

subdue. Their country was impassable for vehicles, and almost impassable for horses. Under such conditions an army would be unable to keep up its supplies. He would also remark, with regard to the ruby mines of Badakshan—which, now that they had been handed over, were put at their lowest value—that the cause of their not being worked was largely owing to the fact that the people who had been collected together to work them were sold as slaves; and this had had a naturally deterrent effect upon the operations in the mines. But the mines were not worked out, for Lieutenant Wood saw an officer going across to the mines for the purpose of collecting taxes. And M. Arminius Vambéry, in his travels, says that, as he was crossing from Bokhara to Herat, he was recommended to purchase *cornelians*—that is, probably, rubies—in order to pay his travelling expenses; and these no doubt were obtained from the neighbouring ruby mines. With regard to the Chinese share in the matter, they were aware that in 1759 the Chinese Government made a great expedition westward, accompanied by three Jesuit missionaries, who took observations to a certain point. In the neighbourhood of Wakhan and Badakshan, however, the work was continued by Chinese officers, and several deserters from the expedition took refuge with the chiefs of the districts. For this and other reasons the work was perhaps hurriedly completed; at any rate, it is now said that the maps, which were drawn by the officers in squares of fifty miles, were displaced in being sent home, so that Badakshan and Wakhan were turned round, and their relative positions were misrepresented. Taking, however, the suspicious circumstances connected with the Klaproth forgery into consideration, it was not impossible that the story of the inversion of the Chinese maps was also a device for throwing dust in their eyes; for he could hardly believe that there could have been any mistake in the matter, but he suspected that it was part and parcel of the Klaproth forgery. As he had undertaken to introduce the subject before the House of Commons on an early day, he would reserve what he had to say on the political aspects of the matter until that occasion; and would only further add to his remarks by asking some gentleman to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard for his able and instructive address.

Colonel RATHBORNE moved, and Captain PALMER seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard; and this, together with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, having been cordially adopted, due acknowledgments were made, and the meeting terminated.

MEETING AT THE ROOMS OF THE ASSOCIATION, TUESDAY,
APRIL 1, 1873.

JOHN DICKINSON, Esq. (Chairman of the late Indian Reform Society), IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE.

The Land Question of India.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George-street, Westminster, on Tuesday, April 1, the subject for consideration being "The Land Question of India," introduced in an address by Colonel A. B. Rathborne.

JOHN DICKINSON, Esq. (Chairman of the late Indian Reform Society), occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings remarked that they were assembled to listen to an address by Colonel A. B. Rathborne on the Land Question of India; and as some gentlemen present might not be familiar with Colonel Rathborne's past career, he would say a few words in introducing the lecturer to them. He had known Colonel Rathborne well by reputation long before he became personally acquainted with him. When he (the Chairman) organized a public agitation against the East India Company's government in 1853, some of his friends were members or connections of the Napier family, and they were all warm in their praises of one of Sir Charles Napier's favourite officers in Scinde. He (the Chairman) had been struck, like other people, by the success of Sir Charles's administration of that province—by the fact that the brave Beloochees, at first hating their conqueror, were so soon converted to admiration for, and confidence in old, Sir Charles, and even personal devotion to him; and he then learnt that much of that success had been due to the statesmanlike advice and suggestions of one of Sir Charles Napier's assistants in Scinde; and that assistant was Captain (now Colonel) Rathborne. (Hear.) He afterwards knew Colonel Rathborne as the author of a series of powerful essays on the general policy of the Indian Government, in our public journals and reviews, which had a decided influence on English opinion, and excited great interest in India, as he knew from his correspondence; while for years the *incognito* of the writer was so well preserved, that many attributed these essays to the present Lord Derby or Mr. Disraeli. He (the Chairman) discovered at length that they had all been written by Colonel Rathborne. He mentioned these facts to show that, both as a practical and successful

administrator, and as a student and writer, Colonel Rathborne was thoroughly acquainted with the subject on which he was about to address them; and therefore he trusted that his remarks would receive their utmost attention and consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE, after disclaiming the flattering remarks of the Chairman as being more than his due, said it might be necessary, before entering on the subject of his lecture, to make two or three prefatory remarks, as showing the vastness of the subject. The total of the land of India is, as nearly as he could collect, 896,000,000 acres, or nearly thirty times the entire number contained in Great Britain—30,000,000, and of these 896,000,000 acres, 379,000,000, or rather more than twelve and a-half times the number contained in Great Britain, belong to Native Princes, all more or less tributary to and dependent on us, and the remaining 517,000,000 acres—being more than seventeen times the number contained in Great Britain—are held directly under the British Government. Colonel Rathborne then proceeded with his lecture, which was as follows :—

There are two questions greatly occupying the attention of the public mind in reference to India at the present moment; these are—the question of the finances, and the question of the best mode of securing our empire there against foreign aggression. There is, however, a third question, which is too much lost sight of; but without a satisfactory settlement of which, very little can be done towards settling the others on any sound or permanent basis. This question is the land question of India.

A very little consideration will be sufficient to convince any one that in the very nature of things it must be so. For it is obvious that no scheme of finance can be sound that does not admit of the development of the natural resources of the country, to the fullest extent they are capable of; nay more, which directly hinders it. Nor can any scheme of defence prove effectual in the hour of trial which leaves the great mass of our Native subjects without any interest in repelling the advance of a foreign invader, if even some of them might not be disposed to look upon such as a possible improver of their present condition. If our Government desires to fix its foundations more deeply than any of the Governments which have preceded it in India, its course must be the very reverse of this. In order to be able to raise the public income to the height that it is capable of being raised to, without oppression to the subject, which is the proper work of the financier, it is first necessary for it to afford every facility for the creation of that individual wealth among its people, of which the public income is or ought to be but the superfluity; while for any scheme of defence to be successful, it must first give to every son of the soil, from the highest Native Prince to the

lowest Native cultivator, that direct, that personal, that pecuniary interest in upholding the Government they live under, which is the surgest foundation of loyalty in every country, whatever may be the race or the religion of the people that inhabit it.

That in neither the financial nor the defensive aspect the problem is insoluble, it shall be my endeavour to show in the present paper; and I think that the more the principles on which it has always been my conviction that India should be dealt with shall be examined, the more clearly it will appear, that they are the only ones calculated to raise it to that pinnacle of financial prosperity for which it seems to me that Nature has destined it; as well as to secure for our Government that universal love and loyalty which is the only sure foundation on which any Government, and more especially a foreign Government, can hope permanently to establish itself.

Happily there is nothing whatever to prevent our rendering it as rich and as loyal as its best friends could desire; for we have only to apply to it the same economic principles which we have long followed ourselves, and which, being based upon natural laws, are of universal application throughout the civilized world.

When God created man He gave him the earth as his inheritance, and at the same time endowed him with the faculties necessary to enable him to extract from it everything that he requires. In it we find an inexhaustible treasury, not only of everything we want for our subsistence, but also of everything that adds to the world's embellishment, that contributes to our comfort, and that increases our material riches. The marble palace of the prince, like the mud cabin of the peasant, is constructed out of the products of it. The gold, the silver, the plate, the tapestry, the pictures, the sculptures, the gilding, the china, the glass-ware, the mirrors, the uniforms, the silks, the satins, the laces, the jewels that are to be seen at the courts of the monarchs, are similarly but varied forms of what has, in some shape or other, first sprung out of it. Equally so with the cotton cloth that covers the Indian peasant's loins, the woollen cumlee he uses to protect him from the wind and rain, and the household utensils of the roughest pottery to be found in his humble dwelling. So, too, are the raw materials of every manufacture, the machinery employed in it, the fuel to drive this, and the food that sustains all who are engaged in this species of industry. Similarly are thence derived the substances of which we construct the ships, whether of wood or iron, that bear the world's commerce along the great highway of nations; the engines that propel them, the coal that sets these in motion, and the masts, the cordage, and the canvas that complete their equipment. High or low, rich or poor, there is nothing that man

has, or that he ever can have, that does not come, either in its actual or in its rudimentary shape, from this the only, but happily inexhaustible, store of the Almighty's bounty to us. Without labour, it is true, we cannot obtain them; and without capital we cannot engage the labour that is required to fit them for our use as well as to reduce them into our possession. But with labour and with capital, which is, after all, but the accumulated result of labour, there is nothing we can wish for that we cannot have; and on the extent to which facilities are afforded in any country for so employing that labour by the application of that capital, must depend the question whether it shall be a rich one or a poor one; a rich one by availing itself of, or a poor one by neglecting, the only means by which nations can attain to wealth.

It is with reason, therefore, that Adam Smith, in his great work upon the subject, tells us that of all the ways in which capital can be employed, that of devoting it to the development of the landed resources of a country, including its agriculture, its mines, and its fisheries, is by far the most advantageous to the community, and adds most to the real wealth and revenues of the inhabitants, as well as of their Government. To utilize many of its products indeed, manufactures are necessary; though it is by no means essential, as we daily see, that the manufacture should be carried on in the country which produces the raw material of it. So, too, the land would be without means of finding a market for its surplus produce, if it were not for the operations of internal trade and external commerce. But neither manufacturing nor commercial industry, he tells us, is creative, as that connected with the land may be said to be, owing to the large share taken by nature itself in accomplishing the results achieved by it; and neither manufacturing nor commercial industry could have any existence, for they could have nothing to operate on, but for the labour and capital employed on the land in the first instance.

Whatever, therefore, tends to impede or diminish the application of capital to the development of the landed resources of a country, tends to impede and diminish in the same proportion the development of every other branch of productive industry; while whatever tends, on the contrary, to facilitate and encourage a nation's employment of its capital in that way, tends equally to extend the sphere of productive labour in every other direction. More and more artisans, and mechanics, and factory hands are capable of being fed; and more and more materials are furnished for its manufactures or for the manufactures of other countries. More and more means of profitable employment of capital are afforded to its internal traders; and more and more sources of wealth are opened up to its merchants, as well as to the merchants of other countries who deal in its produce. More and more shipping is required

for the carrying on its external commerce ; and more and more revenue flows into the coffers of the Government, through the customs, the excise, and the various other channels, through which increased national wealth always pays its tribute to the State, even when there is no formal income-tax established.'

It was to the fact of almost their whole capital being employed in agriculture that Adam Smith attributed the rapid progress of our then American colonies, now the United States of America, towards wealth and greatness ; and we know that, down to the present day, it is to the continued development of their landed resources, including oils and minerals, that they, as well as the Dominion of Canada which borders on them, owe the position they occupy and the opulence which they enjoy. Nor must we allow ourselves to be led, by the wealth which we see on all sides, arising out of our manufacturing and commercial industries, to think slightly, even here, of the land. For, however stupendous these industries may be, and however great the riches they bring, they would pass away like the mist on a summer's morning, if the immense capital employed in the agricultural, and mining, and fishing industries of Great Britain, owing to the products of whose labour it is that they have acquired their immense development, should be withdrawn.

While, therefore, it is in accordance with the soundest economic laws that the Government of India should afford every facility for the employment of the largest possible amount of capital in the development of the landed resources of the country, it is also a course most desirable for it to adopt in its own interest, as well as in the interest of the people of England and of the entire Native population that is subject to its rule. Nor is there wanting anything to encourage it in so doing, in the character and disposition of the great bulk of the people who inhabit it, as well as in the nature of the soil with which we have to deal. For as regards the people, the great mass of them throughout India are agricultural ; and there are no people in the world more industrious when they have a sufficient motive for it. The miserably paid Native, like the miserably paid English labourer, may do little for his money, but set him to perform a task by piece-work, where he has the option of earning daily as much or as little as he pleases, and, like the Englishman under similar conditions, he will generally do as much as his physical abilities will allow. It may be doubted, indeed, whether there are any more thoroughly hard-working men in the world than are to be found engaged in many of the severer forms of labour which we witness there. Nor is it likely that there would ever be any scarcity of labour, however greatly the sphere of operations might be increased. The best proof that there is an immense deal more such labour available than can find

employment, is to be found in the enormous Coolie emigration from India to the Mauritius, the Isle of Bourbon, the West Indies, and other distant places, because, as matters stand, there is not sufficient work for them at home. Nor must it be forgotten that agricultural engineering, in the shape of works of irrigation, which generally require a great amount of skill in their execution, had attained a very high degree of excellence before such a thing as a canal had ever been constructed here.

Then again, as regards the land, there is none more fertile anywhere than the greater part of the land of India is, and none more capable of producing what the people of the country themselves want, as well as what the nations that trade with them most require. It is difficult indeed to say what it might not be made to produce, considering the great variety of soils and climate which it possesses, as well as the vast expanse of territory which it covers. On its hills, as well as in the northern parts of it, will be found the vegetation of the temperate, and on its plains and in the southern parts, that of the torrid zone. The great cereals of our northern climate—wheat, barley, and oats—it is capable of producing in any quantity, and of the finest possible description; while, in many parts, the average number of bushels to the acre, obtained with comparatively little trouble, is equal to that obtained under the highest and most expensive system of farming on the best land in England. Besides these, it brings forth in similar abundance other species of grain which the European palate has not been accustomed to, but which the Natives of the districts in which they are grown generally prefer to wheat, and which are equally nourishing. Of rice, too, it sends a considerable quantity to Europe, and could of course grow as much as there was a market for; as well of maize or Indian corn, of which the use, though it is now brought chiefly from the United States, I believe, is greatly extending in England.

Sugar also India produces of the finest description, as well as all the products of it; and with capital the cultivation of it is capable of almost any possible extension. Tea, too, has now become one of the staple products of India; and so has coffee, both being of excellent quality. Then there is opium, which can also be raised in any quantities desired, and indigo, of which the same may be said; and tobacco, some of which is equal to the finest Persian tobacco, and with which India, with proper instructions as to preparing it, and under fiscal regulations that allowed of it, might be made to supply this country's entire demand. Then there is the great article, cotton—also capable of being raised in any quantity, and which only requires a greater amount of capital to be employed in its culture, to be produced in large abundance of those finer

kinds which are so much preferred by the manufacturers of this country ; but which, from the greater cost of raising the crop, and the greater risk it runs of failure before reaching maturity, is a more proper subject of cultivation by a wealthy proprietary, like the former planters of the Southern States of the American Union, than for an agricultural population without capital, like the greater part of the cultivators of British India.

Til-seed, with its cake and oil, might also be produced in any quantities ; and the latter is, I believe, largely taking the place of olive-oil among the people of southern Europe. Then there is jute, now an article of the first importance, and hemp, and saltpetre, and hides, and wool, and all the other articles of commerce which it exports. Nor must I omit the cocoa-nut and its various products in the shape of fruit, and cordage, and matting, and oil. Even as I write I see that a difficulty has occurred with reference to the supply of nitrate of soda by the Peruvian Government ; but I am inclined to think that the same thing, or an equivalent, is to be found in the Kara Channia of Scinde, which forms a natural incrustation on the soil.

If, again, we turn to the timber products of India, we shall find it amply endowed by nature in that respect also. There are, for instance, the teak, the finest timber-tree perhaps in the world, and black-wood and jack, both of which are beautiful furniture woods, and baubul and sandal, besides a host of others. Of minerals, traces of gold have been found, and there is ironstone in abundance ; while coal has also been found and worked to some extent. I have no doubt indeed that a proper geological examination of the whole peninsula would result in the discovery that it is as rich in mineral as it is in agricultural and forest products ; though even as it is, we know enough to be able to say with certainty that, so far as Nature is concerned, there is no country more richly endowed than India is, nor more capable of repaying to the capitalist, with ample increase, all the money spent by him in the development of its resources.

This being so, how is it, as our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, told us, in his paper on "The Commerce of India," read before the Society of Arts on the 15th February, 1871, that, while the exports of the produce of the United Kingdom were nearly 6*l.* 10*s.* a-head of the population, and those of British North America about 3*l.* a-head, and those of Australia 19*l.* a-head, including its gold exports, or 11*l.* a-head exclusive of them, those of India were scarcely 4*s.* a-head, excluding political and non-commercial remittances to this country, or 5*s.* a-head including them ? Do not these figures confirm in a most remarkable manner the views of the able founder of our English school

of economists, as before given by me? For here we find that in these three countries in which the land, with slight exceptions, is the property, not of the Crown or the Government, but of individuals, and in which consequently capital is capable of being devoted to the fullest extent to the development of their resources, the exports of produce per head were 2,600 per cent. in Great Britain, and 1,200 per cent. in British North America, and 7,600 per cent. including gold exports, or 4,400 per cent. without them, in Australia, greater than were the exports of the produce per head from India—a country where the Government is substantially the immediate landlord of every part of it not belonging to Native Princes, excepting that comparatively small portion which is comprised within the permanent settlement of Bengal; while that portion itself affords a striking contrast, by the extent and value of its products, by the immense amount of capital that has been devoted to the development of its resources, and by the vast indigo and other factories under European superintendence that have been established there, to the other parts of India, where no such fixity of tenure prevails.

And what man of sense, I ask, is there who will believe for an instant that if the Crown had kept in its own hands all the land in Great Britain, in North America, and in Australia, letting it out at rents fixed by itself—by whatever name you may call them—to the immediate cultivators of it, as the Government does over the greater part of India, the export of the products of our own country, or of either of those colonies, would have been at all greater per head than it is there; or that we should have been a bit better off in the way of roads, or water communication, or mines, or factories, or farm-buildings, or any of those other things essential for the development of the agricultural, and mineral, and commercial wealth of a nation, than India is? If there be such a one, he has only to turn to the pages of our own earlier history and see what the state of England was before its land was freed from the shackles which bound it, and which were not very dissimilar to those by which the greater part of India is still bound. It was not till the land of England, with the exception of the small remaining private domain of the Sovereign, had ceased to be the property of the Crown, and it was not till that in the hands of its feudatories had ceased to be subject to feudal incidents, and the tenure was converted into one of free and common socage by the celebrated Act of Charles II., that England began to exhibit that wonderful development of its landed resources which has been the foundation of all its agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial prosperity. Not that there was not still left much to amend in the shape of the restrictions on the power of tenants for life under family settlements, the taking tithes in kind, which was a direct tax

upon improvements in agriculture, and the impediments to the fullest development of a property's capabilities by the incidents of customary and copyhold tenures. These, however, were comparatively minor matters, and subsequent legislation has done much towards their mitigation or removal.

And while we see the effect of so fully opening up the means of developing the landed resources of a country thus exhibited in its exports, we shall find further exemplifications of the truth of these economic doctrines, in so far as they relate to the augmentation thus occasioned in the wealth of the individual members of a community, as well as in the revenues of the State at large.

Taking the first point as to individual wealth, and confining ourselves to the cases of the United Kingdom and of India, we find that in the former, the income-tax, not descending below incomes of 100*l.* and the population being about 30,000,000, produces between 9,000,000*l.* and 10,000,000*l.* sterling annually; while in British India, where the tax descends very much indeed below that limit, and of which the population is about 150,000,000, it only produced, if I remember rightly, at the last return I saw, somewhere about 1,400,000*l.* annually. Looking next to the result on the public income of the country, we find that the United Kingdom pays, wholly irrespectively of the rent of the Crown domains, and of what remains unredeemed of the land tax, over 70,000,000*l.* sterling into the Treasury annually; while British India, with five times the population, pays only 51,000,000*l.*, and of this about 21,000,000*l.* are simply the rental of the land of the country, and 8,000,000*l.* the produce of the opium monopoly, and over 6,000,000*l.* the produce of the salt tax, leaving scarcely more than 16,000,000*l.* sterling as paid by these 150,000,000 of people in respect of the items which furnish almost the entire amount of the seventy and odd millions paid into the United Kingdom Treasury. Nor is this all; for, while the sum levied in the United Kingdom is subject to a very moderate abatement on account of the expenses of collection, leaving almost the whole amount available for the general purposes of the country, the great bulk of the Indian revenue, consisting of the land rental, entails so heavy an expenditure, in the shape of commissioners, and collectors, and surveyors, and settlement officers, and all the host of clerks and other minor officials connected with them, as to leave a comparatively much smaller surplus available for general purposes; while little or none of it ever finds its way back to the land, in the shape of that outlay and those improvements which every landlord, be his estate great or small, ought to make for his tenants;—outlay, I may add, which the Native Governments which we have superseded did habitually make for theirs; for their revenue arising, as it did, out of a share in

kind of the produce, it was their interest to do so, they being father partners in the cultivation than landlords, in the sense in which we have constituted ourselves in British India. But when an individual landlord in any country neglects this plain duty of his position, he inflicts an evil on it commensurate with the extent of his possessions ; how great, therefore, must be the evil when these possessions extend to an entire empire, with a population of 150,000,000, as is the case of those of our Government in India !

Let us turn next to another test, which is a very true indicator of the extent to which capital can be, or is, applied to the purposes of landed improvement. This is the rate at which money can be ordinarily obtained on landed security. Now, in Great Britain we know that money can always be obtained on such security, at from four to four and a-half per cent., in any quantity required ; and it does not exceed five or five and a-half per cent. in Ireland. But in British India no money is, as a rule, obtainable on such security, except in respect of the lands comprised within the permanent settlement of Bengal, or the Fazendary settlement in the island of Bombay, or of other lands held under some special conditions, which exempt them from the operation of the usual Government assessment, at a lower rate of interest than 20 per cent. per annum ; while as much as 40 is sometimes paid by persons cultivating directly under the Government. Is it not clear, therefore, that while the Government will not—or, to do it justice, I may say cannot—afford the money for the improvements which in every country are expected to be made at the cost of the landlord and not of the tenant, the tenant himself is precluded from making them, by the fact of his having to pay such enormous interest for the capital that would be required, he having no security to offer but a customary right of occupancy, so long as he continues to pay the rent which the Government from time to time may impose ?

I hope I may be pardoned for going at such length into these points, but it is necessary to state them in order to show what really are the results of our present land system in India—a system as injurious to the best interests of the Government itself as it is to those of the people there, and of which the injurious consequences are in turn reflected back on to the people, the manufacturers, the merchants, and the ship-owners of Great Britain. All these are equally interested in removing every obstacle to the fullest development of the almost inexhaustible landed resources of India. Nor is the Crown itself less interested in the question than they are, for it is by this means alone that any solid foundation can be laid for its empire there. Its Ministers should also bear in mind that India, like England, is essentially aristocratic in its ideas ; and that the Native Princes, and chiefs, and nobles, and great land-

holders that are left there, might be far more than mere ornamental pillars of our Indian political edifice (as indeed they proved to be during the "Mutiny") if we could only, once for all, lay aside all the remnants of our former grasping policy, and pay some greater regard to Native rights and Native feelings than we have of late years done. We have sense enough to see in Europe that the levelling of these orders tends in no way to the real advantage of a country, but that, on the contrary, the confiscation of their lands and wealth, by drying up so many sources of productive labour, only adds to the poverty, instead of increasing the riches both of the Government and of the community. It is not by destruction, but by building up, that nations and individuals arrive at the highest prosperity.

The time my paper has already occupied prevents my being able to go at any length into the details of the measures I would propose to effect the objects we should have in view; but I must ask to be allowed to trespass so much longer on your patience as briefly to indicate them. The policy towards the Native Princes and chiefs of India laid down in Lord Canning's proclamation, I would rigorously maintain in all its integrity, and that in the plain obvious sense of it in which it was understood by them. The plighted word of our and their beloved Sovereign should never be departed from in one iota either of letter or of spirit, or be attempted to be explained away; no matter what the temptation or what the pretext that might be urged in any particular instance for so doing. They should have the same security for the enjoyment in perpetuity of all their rights and of all their possessions as the Northumberlands, the Westminsters, the Bedfords, the Devonshires, the Portlands, and all the other great members of our English aristocracy have. Their titles rest on the same foundation—that of grants from preceding sovereigns, whether of England or of India, in the first instance; and those grants should be equally respected by our Government in India as they are here; even though, as it happens in both cases, the military or other feudal services in which they mostly had their origin are no longer required. Such grants, in ancient times, in India were often engraved on plates of copper, to make them more durable; I would engrave them on plates of steel, if that would add to their permanence and their security. The word "resumption," like that of "annexation," should be utterly blotted out of the official dictionary; and arguments ought not to be put forth, as a ground for depriving Indian Princes and nobles of their possessions, which no Minister would dare to apply to the corresponding class here at home. Their prosperity, however great, will cause no diminution of our wealth; on the contrary, it will send its rills through a thousand different channels into our

treasury, as well as into our other subjects' pockets, all of whom necessarily profit largely by the expenditure of these Native Courts.

With the tenantry of our own more immediate possessions I would deal with similar justice, and with similar liberality. If we cannot afford the money essential for the proper cultivation and improvement of the lands they occupy, we should, like fair and honest landlords, make such abatement in our claims upon them as shall enable them to do what is requisite themselves, in full security of reaping the profits of the additional labour and capital they expend. Nor should we fail to remember, that if we enable two blades of corn to be grown where only one grew before, we shall be no losers, even though we be paid but the same rent for the two that we were paid before for the one; while we shall be doubling the national wealth of India as well as the income of the people there. This, therefore, is the principle that we should act upon—that of rather looking to the economic results of our measures, than to our own direct and immediate gain; and the following strike me as some of the more prominent alterations in our present land system that might be introduced.

1. Our thirty years' settlements should be made on the old Hindu basis of a sixth share to the State, instead of a third or fourth. The latter rates were well enough when the rent was taken in kind, and when the State found so large a portion of the capital required for the cultivation as it did under the Native system; but a sixth share is quite sufficient when the payment has to be made, as now, in money, no matter what the produce sells for, and when the cultivator receives no advances or pecuniary assistance from the Government, but is left entirely dependent on his own resources.

2. The assessment should not be made by the acre, but on the holding, as with farms on lease in Scotland and in England; or by the village, where the land is held in common. Because the former plan, if it does not hinder, does not at all encourage increased cultivation; as for every additional acre brought under the plough an addition is made to the rent, notwithstanding the so-called thirty years' settlement; while, under the latter system, it is the direct interest of the cultivator to bring every additional acre he can under the plough, during the term of his lease, that the extent of his holding or of the village lands will admit of.

3. The distinction made in the assessment of land under sugar-cane and other expensive kinds of produce, and land under cereals, should be wholly abolished. All lands capable of profitable tillage should be assessed at the rate of grain-growing land; leaving the cultivator to turn his holding, or any portion of it, to the cultivation of more expensive kinds of produce, if he thinks proper. These all require much more

capital to grow than grain does, and the crop is generally more precarious, for which allowance should be made by the Government; while it is to its direct interest to encourage as much as possible the application of capital in this direction, as being calculated to add so much more to the national wealth, as well as, indirectly, to the receipts of the public treasury.

4. The distinction between irrigated and dry crops should be similarly done away with, except in the single case specified by the Mahomedan law, when the water is directly supplied at the expense of the Government. Whatever results from wells dug by the present or preceding cultivators, or from water channels or canals made by them, and supplied from a public stream or river, or from the natural overflow of such, should be allowed to make no difference in the assessment. Such result is the work of God, or the reward of the cultivator or his predecessor's own ingenuity and industry, and he should be permitted to have the free enjoyment of it by the Government. The system at present followed in regard to such lands is in many places a direct hindrance to cultivators seeking in this way to increase their produce, as well as to raise the more expensive kind of crops, for which irrigation is required; whereas it is the direct interest of the Government, as well as of the people, that every inducement should be held out to cultivators to improve their land, and add to its productiveness to the uttermost, by works of this kind, when they have the will and ability to undertake them.

5. The proprietor, or immediate occupant under Government, of every holding should be entitled to all the minerals under it, as well as to all deposits in the nature of mineral deposits on it, on payment of a royalty of one-tenth to the Government. On similar conditions he should be entitled to all treasure found by him on the land, of which there are enormous quantities buried in India; the bringing to light of every portion of which would add to that extent to the national wealth there.

6. Riparian owners, or immediate occupants under Government, should be free to take the fish of lakes and rivers, and the wild fowl frequenting them, without being interfered with by the servants of the Government. At present these are, or were when I was in India, farmed out annually to speculators by the collector, and so made a source of revenue. But the gain to the Government was very small; while the making them free would be a boon to the people, as well as adding to their sense of proprietorship, which the present plan detracts from.

7. At the periodical revision of the assessment, every improvement of a permanent character which has been made by the proprietor occupant should be carefully noted, and the value of it estimated by some

impartial person, who should act as referee between himself and the Government officer; and no additional rent should be charged in respect of any increase of rental value to the holding arising out of such improvement. The same rule should apply to improvements, whether in the shape of roads, works of irrigation, or any other kind, made by the proprietary occupants of a village or a district, or of any number of districts, at their collective expense, as by local taxation or otherwise. No addition to their rent should be made at any revision of the assessment in respect of the increased rental value of the land occasioned by, or attributable to, such improvements.

8. Persons desirous of reclaiming waste lands should be allowed to do so, subject to any existing rights of occupancy, on the terms of its being rent-free for the first ten years of a thirty years' term of settlement, paying a third of the usual rent for the second ten years, and two-thirds of the usual rent for the last ten years; after which it should be assessed to them at the ordinary rates for grain-growing lands in the vicinity.

9. All persons holding land direct from the Government, and subject to the Government assessment, should be entitled, on application to the collector of the district, to redeem in perpetuity the rent payable under such assessment, and convert their holding into one of freehold tenure, on the terms of paying the capitalized value of the rent so redeemed into the Indian Treasury, according to the principle followed in the redemption of the land tax in England; that is, by paying for every twenty rupees of annual rent to be redeemed the amount that may be required to purchase, at the rate of the day, paper of any of the Government loans producing twenty rupees of interest annually. The money so paid to be devoted to the redemption of the Indian debt by the purchase and cancelling of the paper of it, as long as there was any. This would tend to give great buoyancy to the finances; the same income would be received, while saving all the costs of collecting it, by the Indian Treasury; it would open that door to the investment of capital in land and landed improvements in India which is so much required, and it would gradually enable the Government to withdraw from the false position it now stands in, by putting it in the power of all who desire it to acquire the fee-simple of the lands in which they have now merely a right of occupation, at any rent the settlement officers may from time to time think fit to put upon them. Freedom of sale, and freedom of purchase, and freedom of use, would then be established; and my creed has always been that free trade in land is as essential to the complete development of every country's resources as is free trade in other articles.

It is by such legislation as this, of which I have endeavoured to give a brief outline, that we may hope to make India what it ought to be—

happy, contented, and prosperous in itself, and a source of wealth and strength to the nation of which it is a dependency. The greater our generosity to it, the richer will be the fruits we shall reap from that generosity, not merely financially and socially, but also politically. For under such altered conditions, no foreign potentate, however ambitious, would ever dream of invading it, as he would know that he would have to meet not only us, but all the Princes and people of India, in arms, defending not our, but their own, landed possessions; and united to us by the strongest of human ties, those of gratitude and of self-interest.

The CHAIRMAN said that, after the very interesting and instructive address they had just heard, it would be evident to the members that he had not overstated Colonel Rathborne's abilities on introducing him to their notice. (Hear.) The subject was one of the greatest importance to India, and he would be glad to hear any remarks which the members might desire to make upon the lecture.

Colonel FRENCH concurred in the eulogistic remarks which had just fallen from the Chairman as regards the lecture they had just heard; and as his experience, like Colonel Rathborne's, extended over many years in India, he might venture to express an opinion on the matter. He entirely agreed in the opinion that the redemption of the land in India was a great necessity; and his idea of the manner in which this should be carried into effect was, that where the cultivator of the land desired to redeem the land he tilled, no other person should be allowed to come in and buy over him, that is, if he were willing to pay a certain number of years' rent. Some such simple way as this would be most acceptable to thousands of people in India. The subject, however, was one that required much deliberate thought, so that he was unwilling to enter into the consideration of it more at length off-hand; and in this conviction he would suggest that in sending the report of the proceedings of the East India Association to the societies affiliated with it in India, an intimation should be given that the Association desired to elicit opinion on the subject, with a view of gathering facts. If this were done, the Association could resume the discussion at some future time, and perhaps arrive at some definite and sound conclusion. Colonel French concluded by thanking Colonel Rathborne for the trouble he had taken in the arrangement and composition of his very lucid address.

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD said he quite agreed with Colonel French in his admiration of the interesting and instructive paper which had been given by Colonel Rathborne. But in discussing this question of the land tenure of India, they were in danger of losing sight of one most important principle—a principle to which, at the meetings of the East India

Association, he had so frequently adverted whenever he was called upon to speak, that he was now almost ashamed to repeat it. It was, that it was most necessary to keep in mind, whenever they were discussing any matter concerning India, that they were speaking of a country nearly as large as Europe, and inhabited by different races, who differed as much from each other in manners, customs, and religion as the various nations of Europe. He thought it was in consequence of their losing sight of this fact, and generalizing from their own local experience, that those who attempted to deal with difficult problems of Indian political economy were in danger of being led and leading others astray. Those gentlemen whose experience, like his own, was chiefly gained in Upper India, would agree with him that a system which might be admirably adapted for, say, Western India, would not by any means be so well adapted to the other parts of the Peninsula. As regards the land tenure question, it were much to be desired that some gentleman like Colonel Rathborne, who could afford the time to devote himself to the task, should endeavour to collect together in one volume a list of all the existing land tenures of India. If this could be done, a work would be provided of the greatest possible utility. Tenures of land differ so much in India that it is almost impossible to devise any one system which will be fitted for the whole country. As regards the proposal to redeem the land revenue in the part of the country of which he spoke—the North-west Provinces and the Punjab—it would be in vain to offer the fee-simple for sale, for no one would buy it. The people have not sufficient confidence in the permanence of the British rule; their traditions and habits naturally induce them to look forward to political changes, and they would say, “If we pay this sum and redeem the revenue, some other European Power may come, one of these days, and take possession of the country. We shall then have simply thrown our money away.” If the offer were made to the people of Upper India, such, he was convinced, would be their answer. As regards Colonel Rathborne’s remarks on the mineral resources of India, he might mention that he had attended a conference of the Society of Arts on the previous Friday evening, where, under the presidency of Sir Louis Mallet, an address was delivered by Mr. W. T. Blandford on the mineral products of India. Mr. Blandford is one of the best authorities on this subject, and he (the speaker) could only repeat what he said at that meeting, that he had heard with great dismay Mr. Blandford’s declaration that the mineral resources of India were comparatively worthless. He says that the result of a wide survey of the country, added to information which he had acquired from the sources which were to be depended upon, had led him to that conclusion. He did not mean to say that there are no minerals at all in India, but

that, practically, what there are are worthless, because they would not pay the cost of working. Coming from so good an authority, he (the speaker) did not venture to dispute the statement; at the same time one could not help wondering whence all the wealth and abundance of precious metals and precious stones had come which had made India in former days one of the richest countries in the world, and how it came about that it should be now one of the poorest.

Mr. RIDDELL pointed to the fact that there were in existence immense coal-fields in India of enormous thickness.

Mr. PRICHARD said that Mr. Blandford met that by contending that the cost of extracting it from the earth was too great to admit of profitable production. He was free to confess that, prior to hearing Mr. Blandford's address, he entertained far different opinions regarding the mineral resources of the country.

Mr. H. B. RIDDELL said he quite agreed with Mr. Prichard's remark, that it was generally utterly impracticable to argue, from the success or applicability of a measure in one part of India, that it would be successful or applicable to the whole Peninsula; this was especially the case with questions affecting the land. It might, indeed, be feasible to permit the redemption of a sufficient amount of the land-tax to pay off the debt, but this could only be done in districts where the land-tax was permanently settled. As to whether the land revenue should everywhere be permanently fixed, that was a distinct question, and one which must in great measure depend upon the view taken of the duties of the Government. If the Government was a trust, a sufficient revenue must be raised for the maintenance of order and authority, and it would be very wrong to give up to a class the prospective increase in the value of the land, which is the property of the whole nation. (Hear, hear.) However, that perhaps was a matter in which they would all disagree. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Another point raised by Colonel Rathborne had reference to the mineral riches of India. Colonel Rathborne proposed that every holder should be entitled to all the minerals under his land, as well as to all deposits in the nature of mineral deposits on it, on payment of a royalty of one-tenth to the Government: and the holder is also to have the fee-simple of his land. There seemed to be strong objections to such a course, for he knew of but very few places indeed in India where the mineral deposits had been efficiently worked by any other agency than that of a company or by Government; and if the cultivator or occupier whose holdings are very small were to have the power to prohibit this, the probability was that it would not be done at all. Every cotter holding four or five acres would have the power of stopping any improvement which might suggest itself; and

while the interests of the country would thus be injuriously affected, it was more than doubtful if even the individual would be benefited. Nor could he agree with Colonel Rathborne's reprobation of the distinction made in the assessment of land under sugar-cane and other valuable produce, and land under cereals. It would be unfair to abolish the distinction, for if one soil was more fertile and more profitable than another there was no more injustice in levying upon it a proportionately higher rate than in the case of the income-tax, of which a rich man pays more than a poor man. The fact was, that in theorizing on the duties of a Government it was wrong to place generosity in the front as a first duty; the Government duty as trustees imposed *justice* on them as their abiding principle, and to be merely generous to some they must be unjust to others. Though, however, he differed from some of the arguments brought forward by Colonel Rathborne, he heartily concurred in some other of the views which had been expressed in his valuable address.

Mr. GEORGE NOBLE TAYLOR said it might perhaps be useful for the purposes of the present discussion if he gave to the meeting very briefly the results of his special experience on one branch of the subject under discussion—namely, the redemption of the land revenue of India. Those gentlemen were undoubtedly right who had spoken of the difficulties of applying one uniform set of rules or principles to a country so vast, and comprising so great a variety of people, languages, and customs, as India. At the same time, so far as the question under discussion was concerned, he believed there was but one principle underlying the land tenures of every part of India, however various and complicated these tenures might appear to be; and that was, that the ryot cultivator is a co-proprietor either with the Government, as in Madras and Bombay, or with the superior landlord, as in Northern India. The hereditary holder or peasant proprietor, paying a fixed rent, either permanently or for a term of years, looks upon the land in much the same sense as a proprietor in England. He cannot, or ought not, to be ousted from his land as long as he pays the rent.

Mr. P. P. GORDON: But what if Government arbitrarily raise his rent, and he cannot pay? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TAYLOR said that was, of course, a contingency which would seriously interfere with the value of his property. But he did not propose to enter upon that phase of the question on the present occasion. His argument was that permanency of tenure could be secured by a fixed annual rent or assessment, quite as well as by the redemption of the land revenue or the payment of a lump sum once for all. His experience as Commissioner for the settlement of ináms, or rent-free lands, in the Madras Presidency, had confirmed him in the opinion he

had previously formed, that what the people really wanted was permanency of tenure, in whatever form that could be best applied. He had visited every district from end to end of the Madras Presidency, and entered into familiar intercourse with the people; and having looked into the question from every point of view, he was perfectly persuaded that it was hopeless to expect that the country would, within any reasonable period, be rich enough to enable the proprietors to redeem the land revenue to any considerable extent. As an illustration of this fact, he would now give the practical result of the operations of the Commission to which he had alluded. Under the rules which were framed for the guidance of the department, an option was given to every holder of an inám, either to retain his land rent-free, subject to the usual conditions under which such lands were held, or to make the inám his own indefeasible property by the payment of a trifling quit-rent equivalent to about one-eighth of the ordinary assessment. The latter alternative was accepted by the large majority of the inámdárs; and the pecuniary result of this settlement was, speaking from memory, an additional revenue to the Government of about thirteen lakhs of rupees, or 130,000*l.* a-year. But there was the further option allowed to the inámdárs of redeeming this quit-rent by the payment, once for all, of twenty times its amount; thus converting their land into what was called an absolute freehold. Of this supposed boon the inámdárs availed themselves to the extent only of about one or two hundred rupees. After such an experience as that, he thought it was hopeless to expect that proprietors of land in India generally would attempt to redeem their annual rents, except to an insignificant extent, for generations to come. Mr. Taylor remarked, in conclusion, that there were many interesting points of detail noticed in Colonel Rathborne's able paper, but he would not occupy the time of the meeting by discussing them now.

Mr. ELLIOT said that as regards decreasing the land-tax he thought it would be a grand advantage to reduce it, as proposed by Colonel Rathborne, to one-sixth of the net produce. But although he would like to see this done, he must confess he did not see how the Government could be carried on with such a decreased revenue. His reason for recommending the course, however, was that he had cultivated land in India to see what could be got out of it, and he had made a memorandum of the result as follows :—

ACCOUNT OF PADDY CULTIVATION FOR ONE YEAR.

Expenditure.

Coolies	Rs. 29	0	0
Tax.....	10	8	8
Seed	4	0	0
Two Male Buffalos.....	24	0	0
One Plough	0	6	0
	<hr/>		
	Rs. 67	14	8

Receipts.

Paddy at 5 Rs. per Hare	Rs. 52	8	0
Sold Buffalos (2)	25	0	0
Straw	2	14	8
12 Seers Paddy (omitted above)	0	5	0
	<hr/>		
	80	11	8
	67	14	8
	<hr/>		

Balance in favour.....Rs. 12 13 0

To this he might append the remark that the coolies were not looked after properly ; and the crops were deficient in straw and grain by about one-third. The paddy field was about 300 yards long and 60 wide, or, in round numbers, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres. He was therefore bound to confess that the profit on this cultivation was extremely small—so small, that he adopted the plan of letting his rice-lands for nothing. It seemed to him to show that the profit of cultivation was so small, that a decrease in the land-tax was an imperative duty. It would, concluded the speaker, be a very instructive and interesting thing if the experience of others in various parts of India could be gathered together on this subject, for, of course, his own experience was local and limited.

Major-General W. F. MARRIOTT said that if, as he gathered from the remarks which had fallen from a previous speaker, Colonel Rathborne's paper would be transmitted to India, he hoped that it would not be sent as expressing the opinion of the Association, unless, after thorough discussion, it should be found that Colonel Rathborne's opinions were really shared by the majority of the members of the Association. For, although he entirely agreed with Colonel Rathborne's remarks as to the spirit and motives with which we should entertain the question of such measures as proposed by Colonel Rathborne, yet, as respects the principal drift of his arguments, which appeared to be in favour of a permanent settlement and eventual redemption of the land-tax, he entirely differed from him.

The chief impression left on his mind at the close of the address was of the wonderful vitality of some fallacies; for he heard Colonel Rathborne, if he had rightly understood him, offer the supposed wealth and prosperity induced by the permanent settlement in Bengal as an argument for introducing a similar measure throughout India—an argument which, he supposed, would be generally admitted to have not the slightest foundation in fact. Colonel Rathborne seemed to entertain the notion that the great difference between the wealth of England and India was due to the differences of land tenure in the two countries. Indeed, it seemed to him that Colonel Rathborne's views were infected by many economic and historic fallacies. He had come to the meeting quite ignorant of the line of argument to be adopted, and he had not even made notes during the reading of the paper; so that, if he were to attempt an adequate reply on the spur of the moment, he would probably treat the matter confusedly; but if it should be the pleasure of the meeting to adjourn the debate, he would be happy to continue the discussion in a careful and deliberate manner at the next meeting.

Mr. P. P. GORDON said he was one of those benighted individuals who still believed in the economical advantages of the settlement, notwithstanding the more than doubtful "demonstrations" to which General Marriott had referred; although until the address of Colonel Rathborne had been printed and considered at leisure, it would be premature to enter into a lengthened consideration of the subject. It would be sufficient now to say, however, that he differed entirely from the last speaker, and so far from the fallacy resting with Colonel Rathborne, or with the supporters of the permanent settlement, he thought it rested with those who opposed it. (Hear, hear.) The opinions to which General Marriott had given expression had, to his mind, been completely refuted over and over again; and he would be happy to meet him on the question, and prove that it was so. He firmly believed that the prosperity and advancement of India depended upon the land being, perhaps slowly and gradually, but ultimately held on fixed tenure by the inhabitants of the country. As a landed proprietor in Britain, he felt that if he had not that land in fee-simple his feeling towards it would be very different; and if his tenants had not been for centuries identified with the land and held their farms on fixed terms for a definite period and which the proprietor had no power to alter, their feeling towards it would be very different also. He firmly believed that no country could depend on being resolutely defended, or rapidly and permanently improved, unless the bulk of the land is held by the inhabitants on a satisfactory and firm tenure. He had visited large portions of India, and he was absolutely certain that the change he had indicated would be most desirable for all

concerned, for even in what was called the "benighted" district of Madras he found existing the feeling to which he had referred. Indeed, he held in his hand a letter from a rajah, in which he confessed to this sentiment, but owned that he dared not openly avow it, for fear of giving offence to the Government officials. And nothing was more certain than that in proportion as the Government yields to this feeling regarding the land, will they be looked up to as administrators and rulers; and he therefore earnestly hoped to see the day when the Natives of India, in the same manner as Englishmen, will enjoy the right, on equitable terms, of holding their land in fee-simple.

Major-General MARRIOTT explained that he did not mean to imply that the permanent settlement in itself involved a fallacy, but that the inferences drawn from its results were made use of in such a manner as to deserve that title.

Mr. C. SABAPATHI IYAH said that, as a Native landed proprietor, the remarks he would venture to make might be of use. He believed the remedial measures suggested by Colonel Rathborne would be very valuable if put into practice; and there was not the slightest doubt that the land revenue should be reduced as soon as possible, because the people were crying out against the immense burden it involved. Agricultural labour at its best was not so profitable an undertaking; hence anything which so severely crippled its energy as this tax should be made as light as possible. But he could not agree with Colonel Rathborne's suggestion that the taxation of "wet" and "dry" lands should be assimilated, for that would be unjust, as placing the one at a disadvantage. If all lands were equally taxed, whether "wet" or "dry," or irrigated by Government or not, the natural result would be a crowding of the people on the better portions of the country, and the remainder would be left a desert.

Colonel RATHBORNE observed that his idea was not to *raise* the taxation of one to the other, but to *reduce* them both to a low level.

Mr. SABAPATHI IYAH said the result would be the same. Cultivators would abandon "dry" cultivation, and resort to "wet" lands. As regards the mineral products of India, his experience was that Government did not interfere with them when discovered by the holders of land. Ironstone was discovered on land in his possession, and if he had desired to work it, the Government would have raised no objection.

Mr. PRICHARD: Did you try?

Mr. SABAPATHI IYAH: No, I was then unaware of the value of the discovery.

Mr. PRICHARD: Then you do not know what the Government would have done. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

Mr. SABAPATHI IYAH proceeded to observe that to redeem the land,

the market value of which was uncertain, owing to various causes well known to all, would involve the sinking of capital for a certain return of not more than five per cent., whereas in India there was no difficulty in finding investments with the best security, at six per cent.; and even twelve per cent. was not uncommon. Under these circumstances, with all that could be said in praise of fee-simple right, the redemption of the land-tax must necessarily proceed, if it did at all, very slowly; but if the Government were to reduce the price, and, instead of demanding twenty times the rental as the purchase, ask only, say, ten times, then the 100 rupees to which Mr. Noble Taylor had referred would be speedily converted into the 150,000*l*.

Colonel FRENCH at this point suggested the adjournment of the discussion, and after some desultory conversation, this was agreed to by a large majority, Mr. PRICHARD expressing a hope that the adjourned meeting would not, as was too often the case, be composed almost entirely of those who had not attended the first meeting, and who were consequently unaware of what had been done before.

Colonel RATHBORNE having expressed his intention to reserve any remarks which he had to make in reply until the termination of the adjourned discussion, a vote of thanks was unanimously voted to him on the motion of Captain PALMER, Acting Honorary Secretary of the Association; and a similar compliment having been paid to the Chairman, the meeting terminated.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1873.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., M.P. (Chairman of the Council of the Association), IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by W. TAYLER, Esq.

Publicity the Guarantee for Justice; or, "The Silent Chamber" at Whitehall.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held in the Theatre of the Society of Arts, on the evening of Thursday, May 1, 1873, the occasion being the delivery of an address by Mr. W. Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna, entitled "Publicity the Guarantee for Justice; or, 'The Silent Chamber' at Whitehall."

E. B. Eastwick, Esq., M.P., occupied the chair, and among those present were Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I.; Sir Arnold Kemball; Juland Danvers, Esq. (India-office); Colonel P. T. French; Colonel

A. B. Rathborne; Colonel E. Hemery; Colonel David Briggs; J. A. Brereton, Esq.; Anderjee Cowajee, Esq.; Mr. Iltudus Prichard; Surgeon-Major Atcheson; John Bruce Norton, Esq.; Surgeon-Major Townsend, &c.

Captain W. C. PALMER, Acting Honorary Secretary, stated that he had received letters from several distinguished gentlemen, in which, from various causes, they expressed their regret at being unable to attend the meeting. Professor Fawcett, M.P., and Sir George Balfour had written to say that the imminence of an important division in the House of Commons compelled their absence from the meeting. A letter from Sir Charles Wingfield explained that he had to attend a funeral that day; and Major Evans Bell, whom severe domestic affliction prevented from being present, observed in his letter, "I think that some plan for the regular and public hearing of political appeals from India is most urgently required. Great abuses have sprung up from the present irregular and secret system, all of which, though frequently used as reproaches against the unfortunate appellants, are discreditable solely to our Government. Not only is there now, in addition to the very expensive system of recognized Parliamentary Agency, a great deal of irregular and superstitious Parliamentary Agency looking out for Indian clients; but there is, to my knowledge, more than one centre of agency for corrupt intimidation which preys upon the ignorance of Indian petitioners. All this would disappear before an open tribunal." A letter had also been received from an experienced and able officer well known to the public, but who did not wish his name to be given. He said, "It is indeed time that something should be done to allow the public at home and in India to know what occurs in that august assembly, 'The Silent Chamber of Whitehall.' I can compare it to nothing but the Conclave of the Doge of Venice. Its present constitution is wholly un-English, and places two hundred millions of British subjects at the mercy of the Secretary of State, who even usurps the patronage of the Governor-General, who is by law responsible for the realization of the revenue, and for the tranquillity of India. How different is this state of things from that which existed under the administration of the late much-abused East India Court of Directors! In the first place a certain number went out of office annually, and others were elected by the whole body of the proprietors of stock. The measures of the Court of Directors were discussed publicly on the requisition of a limited number of proprietors, and when the Court of Directors were in a minority the proprietors demanded a ballot. In India, too, there was a virtual restraint on the Governors; for, although they might adopt a measure against the vote of the majority of their council, each

“ of the members dissenting was bound by the oath he took on his entrance into office to record his reason for dissent. These minutes were regularly transmitted to England ; so that in effect no Governor since the time of Clive and Hastings acted on his own responsibility. It is to be regretted that some such rule does not exist in the Council of India at Whitehall, not necessarily for publication ; but any such dissent should be liable to be called for by Parliament, as was the case in the late Board of Control. If I recollect aright, there was a motion brought forward within the last two years in the House of Lords to confer on the Secretary of State of the Council of India the election of the *whole* of the sixteen members, instead of only half, the other half being elected by the members themselves. It was opposed by Lord Ellenborough and some other noble lords who had held office in India ; but was, however, supported by Lord Lawrence, a member of the Council, and by one noble lord unconnected with India. But nothing more has been heard of the measure. Had it been carried, it would have rendered the Council a type of the Cabinet of the House of Commons, with this essential difference, that the measures of the Minister can only take place (as in the case of the Court of Directors) when supported by the majority of the House, subject to the assent of the House of Lords, the arguments on both sides being reported on the following day by the public press. Above all, it is desirable that the Council in England should be composed of members representing each of the subordinate Governments in India, as has been even found expedient in the Supreme Court at Calcutta ; and how much more is it requisite in that of Whitehall ! ”

The CHAIRMAN said he regretted very much that circumstances should have combined to cause the absence of so many from the meeting, but they had consolation in the fact that there were several gentlemen present who thoroughly understood the subject which would be brought forward, and therefore the discussion would be a profitable one. Of course the subject down for discussion, as every one who had considered it was aware, was beset with difficulties. On the one hand, it was extremely desirable that the Native Princes of India should have open-handed justice ; but on the other hand, there was the obstacle that any court which might be established would be, to a certain extent, a check on the power of the Viceroy. That was the objection generally urged ; but, in the face of the extreme injustice which had been done in certain cases, he did not think it should be allowed to stand. He himself could bear witness to the fact that injustice was frequently the result of the present system, because he was thoroughly acquainted—no one perhaps

more so—with what went on in Scinde in connection with the Ameers. Those rulers were dethroned upon evidence which would not have borne the light of day ; and the same thing has occurred again and again in other cases. The reason for this was not far to seek. They were all aware how difficult it was to mete out exact justice, even with all the advantages of an English court of law. How infinitely were these difficulties increased when the method was that pursued in regard to India, however strong and sincere the desire to be impartial ! When the case of a Native Prince is being dealt with, the evidence is collected by certain inferior officers on the spot, and that evidence is sent to the Governor-General many hundreds of miles away. There is no examination of the person who might be supposed to have the greatest stake in the matter, and no confronting of witnesses ; all is decided at an immense distance from the spot where the charge has been raised. The result is, in most cases, if not a total shipwreck of justice, at all events a plunge into perfect obscurity, where it is impossible to tell whether justice is done or not. It is upon this question that Mr. Tayler would now address them.

Mr. W. TAYLER then delivered the following address :—

The subject which I wish to bring before you this evening, though not very attractive in its character, comprises several questions of manifest importance, both as regards the interests of a large and influential portion of the Natives of India, the principles of enlightened administration, and the honour of the British Government.

Whatever may have been the sins, errors, or shortcomings of that Government in days gone by, it is impossible to deny that, as compared with other Powers—Hindu or Mahomedan—the British name has been generally regarded with respect and reverence. Making allowance for occasional ignorance, self-sufficiency, or overweening ambition, the principles of English administration have, in profession at least, during the last century, been the principles recognized by civilized countries, and such as commend themselves to the approbation of reasonable men.

And this may be said to be especially the case in the departments organized for the administration of justice throughout the territories subject to the British regulations. Though the general tenour of these regulations is doubtless tolerably well known to most of the gentlemen now present, there yet may be some (especially as I perceive that we are honoured by the presence of ladies) for whose benefit, with a view to the better understanding of the special subject which we are about to discuss, I would wish to point out some circumstances connected with their first enactment.

In 1765, I need hardly remind you, that event took place which transferred the supreme executive power (called the Dewany) from the

Emperor of Delhi to the great East India Company. In 1793, during the reign of Lord Cornwallis, the first regular series of laws was formally promulgated. These laws provided for all branches of the Executive Government, the collection of the revenue, and the general administration of justice; and by these laws, modified, explained, and extended, the whole civil machinery is to the present day regulated. It is with the judicial branch of that machinery that my present observations are connected.

It is not my purpose to enter upon an investigation of the mode in which these regulations have been carried out in that department in India, though the subject presents many features well worthy of notice. That abuses of the most pernicious character have for many years infected every hole and corner of the system, that justice has been bought and sold, and that the avenues of the court have been choked with a crowd of intriguing subordinates,—these are lamentable facts, engraved, I fear, on the hearts of thousands.*

With these defects and abuses I may possibly deal on another occasion; but they are now so far irrelevant that they are evils in practice, and do not affect the *principles* of justice on which the laws and regulations are based. It is more to my present purpose to point to the fact, that although succeeding to a dominion where the sovereign was a despot and the subject a slave, one of the first principles honourably adopted and embodied in our laws was the equality of the lowest ryot with the Government itself in all questions of disputed right; that equality securing to him publicity in the trial and impartiality in the tribunal. There is perhaps no single act of the Government which has so much elicited the approval and respect of all thoughtful men as this just and dignified act of the Legislature. And as in civil matters the individual is by this law entitled to equal justice, so also in criminal cases the lowest menial has the right of public trial, the assistance of counsel, and within certain limits the privilege of appeal. Wherever, then, the regulations are in force, every controversy and every trial, civil or criminal, is thus openly, publicly, and I may say impartially, adjudicated; and, however imperfect or unsatisfactory may occasionally be the practical result, the great principle which underlies all systems of just and righteous administration—viz., publicity—is invariably maintained.

But there are those in India, not few in number nor insignificant in

* "There was, in fact," as Marshman, in his "History of India," says, "too much law for there to be much justice. Every suit became a game of chess, and afforded the amplest scope for Oriental ingenuity and chicanery. Justice was thus made sour by delay, and equity was smothered by legal processes." And again, "The courts of every description became the hot-bed of corruption and venality."

position, who enjoy none of these privileges. There are Native Princes, of ancient pedigree and large dominions, who owe allegiance to the British Power in different degrees and under a diversity of circumstances; there are others owning smaller territory, but still of high lineage, and exercising more or less independent power, but bound to the British Government by treaty. These Princes, potentates, or chiefs, are not considered British subjects, and are not entitled to claim the privileges, or condemned to be bound by the penalties, of any laws in force. This is usually expressed as a stipulation in the treaties; and, as a general rule, it is undoubtedly a wholesome condition.

The Hon. Mr. Robert Bourke, in his late speech before his constituents at King's Lynn, gave so accurate and graphic a description of these Native Princes, that I am tempted here to quote it at length:—

“Vast as our territory is in India, magnificent as is our revenue, the Native States are no less a subject of importance to the English statesmen, and to all who take an interest in our Indian Empire. Speaking in round numbers, in extent they are about two-thirds of the size of the British provinces, and contain about one-third of the population; that is, they are about five times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and contain a population as great as France, Belgium, and Bavaria. They maintain armies which in the aggregate amount to about 200,000 men. They vary in size and importance, from the position of little chieftains to great and powerful rulers. In considering our relations with these, one must never lose sight of the fact that Great Britain is the paramount Power in India—a position which is universally recognized by the Native States, and one which all Native rulers understand, as for hundreds of years some such power has been recognized in Hindustan. So that relations with the Native States of India are totally different from those which we have with other foreign countries of the world. They are all bound to us by treaty, and we to them; and although their treaties vary from one another in many particulars, I believe I am correct in saying that there is no Native State in India that can go to war with any other Native State, or with a foreign Power, without the consent of Great Britain. On the other hand, we are bound to protect them from the attacks of foreign foes. Besides, indeed, the necessities of our position impress upon us the absolute obligation to hold ourselves responsible for their general welfare, their internal peace, and their immunity from foreign aggression. And this necessity brings us, you will see, into very close and intimate relations with the Native States of India. I trust, and believe, that by wise and prudent counsels our relations with those States will, day by day and year by year, grow more strong, more firm, more intimate, more cordial. We have nothing to gain by their adversity, we have everything to gain by their prosperity.”

This is a true representation of the position of the Native feudatories, and with the concluding words we all must cordially agree.

Now, in the general internal management of these territories the Government professes to exercise no control or interposition. But controversies occasionally arise between the Government and individual Princes, involving, in some cases, very grave matters, criminal and civil;

in some a direct controversy regarding money, status, or privilege, the interpretation of treaties, and such things in which the interests of the individual are in direct antagonism with those of the dominant State, but which involve no public political question such as those referred to by Mr. Bourke. All these questions and controversies, under the present system, are decided in that mysterious department which is termed Political—*i.e.*, by political officers, generally military men, who, though honourable and often distinguished, have had no judicial training or experience, and are certainly, in many cases, not qualified to conduct satisfactorily any intricate inquiry.

The report of the political officer, or officers—for the inquiry is often commenced by a junior, and then passes into the hands of a senior officer—is sent up to the Governor-General, and there acted upon, generally, it may be said, in conformity with the opinions recorded. The only appeal from such decision is to the Secretary of State for India, with a final possible agitation in Parliament, if the aggrieved party has sufficient persistence and funds to continue the struggle.

Now, I may, I apprehend, safely predicate that one essential element of satisfactory adjudication, whether in civil or criminal matters, is *publicity*. I doubt whether any one of us here present, having an important controversy or dispute with another mortal, or having a criminal charge upon our heads, would be satisfied with investigation or trial, even before the most able and honourable judge, if that trial or investigation were conducted in secrecy; and this even when the judge or arbitrator was altogether beyond suspicion of partiality, and free from all temptation of bias.

Such is the weakness of human nature, that mortal man, in his highest development, is subject to manifold infirmities, which, without any purpose or intention, may interfere with sound judgment. Hastiness of conclusion, carelessness in inquiry, unknown or unrecognized prejudices,—these and a thousand other hindrances to perfect judgment may, when the deciding authority is removed from the ken and criticism of fellow-men, and unchecked by the presence and research of advocates, interfere with the ends of justice and lead to wrong. But how much more is this the case when the deciding judges are judges in their own cause, when their interests, their feelings, the traditions of office, or that unknown but elastic mystery, political expediency, influence their judgment.

Now I have already adverted to the state of things as respects the trial and decision of cases in all those parts of India where the laws and regulations of the British Government are in force. Always excepting those local imperfections and accidental abuses in practice which disfigure and disgrace the judicial system, the principles observed, from first to last,

are sound and unobjectionable. Civil suits are publicly heard and decided, first in the local Courts, and subsequently in the high Courts of Appeal at the Presidencies; while those which involve pecuniary value above a certain amount find their way to England, and are finally decided by the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council. From first to last the great principle of publicity is maintained, and the contending parties are allowed free use of advocate and counsel. And what is the consequence? Excepting in the first and lowest grades, where the local influence of the Native Ministerial officers is brought to bear, and bribery is unsparingly employed, intrigue is rarely heard of, and in the final stage of appeal (which is the principal point I am now considering) is altogether unknown. Anxious as the litigants are to obtain a final decision, in all important cases, from the Queen, and ready as they would be to spend largely, and exercise all available means to influence, directly or indirectly, the minds of the judges, no idea of the possibility of such procedure ever enters into the head of the most adventurous appellant. All is open and above board. The papers are printed, and sent from India to the Privy Council Office in England; agents and solicitors are engaged, through whom the services of counsel are secured; the hearing and arguments take place in public court, in the presence of the public; and, deep and persistent as has been the spirit of controversy and the demon of discord up to the point of decision, the final judgment at once puts an end to the controversy, and all is peace. No one ever hears of agitation or scandal when once that final judicial order is recorded, and the judges humbly recommend Her Majesty to confirm their sentence. No complaints of partiality are heard; no eloquent Members of Parliament are sought for to ventilate the grievance of the losing party; no whispers of injustice or unfairness ever reach the ears of the scandal-mongers, or amuse the busy minds of mischievous gossips.

Look upon that picture, and on this. In that branch of judicature, so-called, which has its operations in the Political Department, all is different. When cases, either civil or criminal, arise in this field of controversy, whether between rival and contending Princes or between Prince and Government, that wholesome publicity which I have pointed out as the fundamental and living principle of righteous and trustworthy adjudication, is, in most cases, entirely wanting. In a department where intrigue is the daily pabulum of hundreds who surround the Court of the Native Prince, or hang about the purlieus of the Political Agent, and where every question which is a subject of difference or discussion is more or less tainted with intended misrepresentation and hidden purpose, instead of every step being, as in the regulation provinces, openly taken

and openly investigated by competent officers, all is, if not secret, at least one-sided.

But all this refers to the proceedings in India, with which at present I am not dealing. I will not, therefore, dwell any further upon this part of the subject, but merely observe, in passing, that I feel very strongly that the Government will itself see ere long the expediency, if not the absolute necessity, of organizing a tribunal in India which will be qualified to deal with such matters in a mode which will be far more satisfactory both to Government itself and the parties concerned, and far more in accordance with the present condition of the country, the progress of society, and the general requirements of justice. That there are some questions which it will still be necessary to retain for secret and undivulged adjustment, I do not doubt; but all that I would suggest is, that where such cases arise, the Governor-General in Council should assign the reasons for a procedure which should be exceptional, and place them on record. This would prevent any mischievous or premature publicity in matters purely political, and serve to maintain the authority of the Viceroy and the prestige of the Foreign and Political Departments.

Where no sufficient grounds exist for exceptional privacy, there could be no difficulty in the Governor-General himself relegating, for decision or report, any questions that may arise, to a competent court, of which some members at least should be judicial officers of experience. That this will ere long be done, I cannot venture to doubt, and the introduction of railways in the territories of the Native Princes will, I apprehend, accelerate the reform. But whether this change takes place or not in India itself, there can be little doubt that, as far as regards the final authority in this country, it is daily becoming more desirable that at least some decent measure of publicity should be introduced into the proceedings of the Secretary of State and Indian Council. At present, I need hardly inform you, every question that finds its way to England at once passes from the light of day into the valley of the shadow of darkness.

However imperfect may be the investigation in India, something at least is known of the proceedings adopted; some opportunities are usually given to the parties to state their case, offer their defence, or furnish evidence to substantiate their statements. But in the "silent chamber" at Westminster, secrecy as close, proceedings as mysterious and undiscoverable as those of the Inquisition or the Eleusinian mysteries, shut out every ray of light even from the parties themselves or the agents they employ. Save a small scrap of paper which is stuck against the wall of the Committee-room on the morning of an official

séance, no one can, even by diligent and careful search, ascertain what subjects are under deliberation. On what grounds, or after what amount of deliberation, conclusions are formed or judgments given, it is impossible to discover. Whether the Committee is unanimous, whether the Council influences the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of State overrides the Council—whether the inquiries conducted in the lower political regions are found to be sound and careful, or condemned as crude and discreditable,—all these particulars, so essential, so indispensable, and so dearly prized, in all civilized countries, where conflicting interests are in controversy, are simply as undiscoverable as the Cabala.

And what are the effects of this political mysticism? I will endeavour briefly to point out some, at least, of these.

In the first place, then, there is nothing to show the people of India that the British Government is in truth desirous of doing justly.

Secondly, there is no assurance given to the parties in a controversy that the question at issue is discussed and analysed with the care and consideration to which all are entitled.

Thirdly, neither of the parties (except the Government itself, when concerned as one) can be satisfied that his case has been explained, illustrated, or supported as it ought to be.

Fourthly, the parties are deprived of the advantage enjoyed by all but their unhappy selves, of receiving assistance from the higher intellects, knowledge, and ability which are available in England.

And last, though not least, the system of secrecy necessarily carries with it a co-operative system of intrigue and trickery on the part of appellants, and this to an extent that would scarcely be credited, if fully known—intrigue which tends to corrupt the fountain of justice, bring disrepute even upon British officials, and entail infinite scandal upon the Government itself.

I cannot perhaps more vividly bring this fact before you than by describing an incident which actually occurred in connection with a dispute between a well-known Rajah in the Punjab and some members of his family. It happened to me, some six years ago, to be engaged in India by the brothers of the Kupoorthala Rajah, in a question then under discussion before the Government, in which my clients were desirous to obtain separation from the Raj (then in possession of the elder brothers), in accordance with the terms and conditions of a will executed by their father. After considerable trouble and much controversy, the point was conceded, and the Governor-General of India, Lord Lawrence, with the concurrence of his Council, gave formal judgment in favour of the younger brothers, directing a separation, with a specific

portion of the estates to be allotted for their maintenance, in conformity with the will of their father. An appeal was preferred by the Rajah against this decision to the Secretary of State; and this brings me at once to the phenomena which I wish to set before you. Now, I need hardly say that if this question had been decided by the regular judicial courts, the appeal would have come before the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and there been publicly argued and publicly decided, the controversy being once and for ever set at rest, to the contentment, if not the satisfaction, of both parties. In this case what happened? The tale is curious—the scenic performance worthy of record. The decision in India having been deliberately, and after careful consideration, passed by the Supreme Government, under the leadership of Lord Lawrence, who was himself personally acquainted with all the circumstances, and had at the time given a quasi-official sanction to the old Rajah's will, it was evident to the minds of the Natives who were interested on the other side, that no ordinary efforts were required to secure a reversal of the judgment, the Oriental mind not always finding it easy to understand that such a decision can be reversed solely on grounds of right or justice. To this end an elaborate scheme was concocted, and a melodramatic performance, complete in all its parts, was sketched and carried into effect in London with an ingenuity worthy of all admiration.

The system at present in vogue in the Office of the Indian Council does not admit, as I have before remarked, of any public argumentation or discussion. The agents of the Rajah, therefore, well informed of the peculiarities of the Silent Chamber, would thus at once be convinced that open argument was unavailing; but they were not, on that account, to be baffled. Relying on the indirect influence which sentiment may occasionally exercise over the minds of authorities, they projected and carried into execution with marvellous adroitness the following drama—whether with or without the Lord Chamberlain's licence, is not exactly known.

The scene itself was described in the editorial columns of the *Daily Telegraph* with the eloquence and gusto which is characteristic of that journal. I regret greatly that I have mislaid the paper itself, as I should have much liked to have given it you in the *ipsissima verba* of the Editor. I remember well that the opening words were: "The sombre hues of Westminster Abbey were yesterday illumined by the gorgeous dresses of a group of Oriental Princes;" and then it went on to describe how a Hindu Prince, with his attendants, under the special direction and guidance of the Dean of Westminster, had assembled in the Abbey, with large baskets of flowers on their heads, and, walking in solemn procession,

had knelt before the tomb of Lord Canning, and there deposited their floral offerings. The article ended, if I remember rightly, with an eloquent peroration on the new dignity conferred upon England's historical temple by the public utterance (by a Hindu, too) of a Mahomedan prayer to the God of all men.

Such, very briefly stated, was the description of the *mise en scène* on that memorable day; and doubtless many readers of the sensational article were struck with admiration at this voluntary display of gratitude and respect paid to the memory of a British Viceroy, whose tomb this Prince had crossed the black waters to visit, and to whose memory they had offered this picturesque and disinterested tribute.

But what were the real facts? The Hindu Prince who sanctified Westminster Abbey by the utterance of a Mahomedan prayer was the manager or steward of the Rajah to whom I have referred. The motive of his visit was, not to pay disinterested homage to Lord Canning's tomb, but to manage the appeal on behalf of his lord and master. The whole spectacle was got up in the hopes of exciting interest in high, perhaps the highest, quarters. The point in the Rajah's case, and the only point on which he had to rely, was a dictum of Lord Canning's uttered at a durbar, and the performers, alive or dead, were brought together with an ingenious calculation which some who see behind the scenes may appreciate, but on which I forbear to dwell. After some months, the decision of the Governor-General was reversed in favour of the Maharajah, and the Dewan, with his gorgeously-arrayed attendants, went on his way rejoicing.

That all this trickery had in reality any influence over the mind of the Secretary of State is, of course, absurd to suppose; but that the favourable decision was, and ever will be, in the minds of the Natives, connected by the closest ties with the performance, no one who knows the Native character can for a moment doubt. I need scarcely remind you that I have related this incident, not with any view to criticize the decision actually passed by the Secretary of State, or to make any, even the most remote, imputation on the deciding authorities; but simply to show, by actual example and illustration, how the silent system is calculated to generate intrigue, and raise an impression, however unfounded, of the success of secret machinations.

And having given you this illustration, I may not inappropriately point to another very striking event which has very recently occurred, to establish another fact—viz., that, with all our boasted purity of purpose and love of justice, gross wrong may, and has at times, been perpetrated under the benevolent shelter of the now notorious "political plea," of the existence of which Mr. Gladstone declared his

ignorance in the House of Commons. On the 30th January there was decided in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, by a full bench of five judges, including the respected ex-Chancellor Lord Hatherley, an appeal from the Chief Court at Lahore, in which the Hon. Mrs. Forester sued the Government, as heir of the celebrated Begum Sumroo, for the value of certain arms and other munitions of war, of which the Paternal British Government had, on the demise of the lady, quietly taken possession. This appropriation took place thirty-seven years ago, and when, some years after the occurrence, the suit was brought by the then Mr. Dyce Sombre, the Begum's heir, the plea raised by the Government was this far-famed political plea—viz., that they took possession of the disputed property as an act of state, the Begum being an independent Princess, and our acts done in that capacity are not cognizable by any court of justice. This plea was submissively accepted by all the courts below; the litigation was by other circumstances unusually protracted, and finally brought, through the usual agency, before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Here the same plea was reiterated and ably supported by the Government counsel, but, I need hardly say, it signally failed. The able Judges of the Committee unanimously ignored the defence, entered on the merits of the case, and on the date which I have above mentioned gave a decree in favour of Mrs. Forester and her co-appellants, for no less than 30,000*l.* with interest at 12 per cent. for 37 years, making a total of 163,000*l.*

Hence, then, we have, published and promulgated throughout the world, the painful fact of an act of cruel wrong perpetrated against a loyal and attached feudatory, who had done excellent service to the British Government, and lived to the last in friendly relation to the authorities—an act deliberately perpetrated, deliberately upheld, battled for in the local courts, and finally supported by deliberate argument before Her Majesty's Privy Council; and this under the cover of that despotic power which is claimed for the Political Department, which ignores all public investigation, and leaves the Executive undisputed masters of the field. Had not the present applicants been endowed with the gift of pertinacity and determination, and, above all, had they not been able to command the funds necessary for carrying out their claims to the bitter end, they would never have obtained one farthing of the 163,000*l.* now awarded. Had the final appeal been, under the ruling of the local courts, transferred to the Political Department, and been relegated for adjudication to the Silent Chamber, how much would they have reaped for their trouble?

Having set forth these two incidents—one as exhibiting the encouragement which secret procedure gives to machinations and intrigue, the

other to show the righteous redress of grievous wrong committed by the Government in the exercise of despotic and irresponsible power—I would ask whether it is in harmony with the general tone of civilized humanity, or the principles of enlightened administration, that such a system should be maintained any longer.

At the present moment we are, I believe, entering upon the most critical period of British Indian history. Gladly as we may refrain from all feelings of petty jealousy against that Power which seems destined to enter upon the great field of civilization and progress in Central Asia, and cordially as we may reciprocate the friendly purposes outwardly expressed towards us, it is impossible not to perceive that the necessity, now apparently admitted by all parties, of counteracting the progress of Russian ambition, must to some extent subject us to the intrigues of Eastern politicians, and render it more than ever important to preserve, as Mr. Bourke truly pointed out, the attachment and loyalty of the Princes and chieftains within our borders. And how is this principally to be effected? Not certainly by mere social meetings, public ceremonials, or manufactured speeches—things that are useful in their way; not by any degradation of our position as the undisputed, paramount Power, not by the relinquishment of any of those great schemes of morality and benevolence in which we may fairly look for the blessing of the Almighty, nor any retrogressive movement in the path of material progress or civilization; but by such a reform in the adjudication of important controversies or disputes with or between those who are not technically, though they are substantially, British subjects, as may satisfy each and all of them, that on all questions in which the interests, the ambition, or the wishes of the ruling Power are directly or indirectly concerned, the sole end and object at which we aim is justice—justice pure and undefiled, though its administration may be to our hurt. And if this be so, can the Silent Chamber remain unexposed and unexplored? Will our actions be consistent with our professions if we continue to deprive our feudatories of that one guarantee for just and righteous dealing without which there can be neither trust nor confidence—publicity; if great interests are to be entrusted for decision to men whose feelings or prejudices are unchecked by public cognizance, whose minds are unaided by public discussion, whose very passions are perhaps enlisted on one side or the other, and whose proceedings are carried on in the dark?

Shall the English nation, which is so jealous of the faintest possibility of bias, prepossession, or prejudice in a judge, sanction such a continuance, if once fully informed of its abuses? Can anything be more inconsistent that in this country we should daily witness our judges de-

clining to hear a case because they hold some petty, perhaps remote, interest in the matter before the Court—the Lord Chancellor retiring from the bench because he had been formerly employed as counsel in the case—and at the same time allow questions of the highest importance, pecuniary claims of immense magnitude, disputes affecting the character and status of ancient Princes, to be decided by the single will of an individual sitting on a throne, removed from all contact with the outer world, and instructed only by written reports or sentiments of officers who have themselves investigated and decided under similar circumstances? There is a pertinent proverb, containing much wisdom, that “he who conducts his own case has a fool for his client;” there is one still more pregnant with moral force—viz., “He who passes judgment on his own claims has the devil for an assessor.”

And now, as I am most anxious that this subject should be placed before you in all its bearings, I would wish to refer briefly to those objections which have been usually raised as obstacles to the reform which I have advocated. The principal objection is, the difficulty of drawing a line between cases which, being purely of a political character—such as cases of peace or war, actual or disguised hostility, &c.—it is absolutely necessary to retain, and dispose of in the secret or strictly Political Department; and others of a semi-political character, such as those to which I have referred. I can quite understand, and fully appreciate, this difficulty; but difficulties are made to be overcome, and if once the necessity, the justice of publicity, were honestly recognized and honestly acted upon by Government, it would be easy enough to overcome this. Indeed, this line has already been drawn, and I think by the late lamented Colonel Sykes in his definition of the cases which demand public adjudication—viz., where the question involves the rights, interests, or status of an individual.

The next objection is, that to admit the courts of justice to interfere with any matters in the Political Department would lower the authority and weaken the prestige of the Government. To this I would reply that nothing can so far weaken the prestige of the Government as injustice; and the voluntary adoption of a system which would exhibit before the world the desire to avert wrong and secure right, would be to strengthen infinitely both the prestige and power of the Government, while it would bind the Princes to us by enduring ties.

A third objection is, that ordinary judges are ignorant of many peculiarities of Indian life which are necessary to enable them to decide rightly on the questions that would come before them, and the application of technical rules to such cases would be injurious. The answer to this is, speaking of the final tribunal—the office of the Secretary of

State, to which I am now referring—that there is no conceivable question which might not be successfully grappled with if publicly discussed by men qualified for the purpose; and there would certainly be more hope of full and exhaustive discussion, if open to the public and aided by the able men whose assistance would be enlisted, than if the investigation is confined to the breast and brain of a single Minister, however able or exalted; and this more especially if the previous proceedings had been, as they ought to be, conducted before competent tribunals in India itself.

Another, and a very plausible objection may and has been raised, which includes the argument *ad hominem*, as far as regards this Association, or any one indeed who suggests or advocates the reform which I am proposing. This argument is, that the Native Princes themselves do not express or experience any inconvenience from the system now in force, and that we are taking upon ourselves to plead officiously a cause in regard to which the parties themselves are indifferent, perhaps even dissenting. There is some apparent truth in this, and I will go so far as to admit that if a round-robin were to-morrow to be circulated for signature to the Princes of India, praying for the adoption of the procedure which I have suggested, few, if any, of them would consent to sign it, whatever their real sentiments might be. But the cause of such apparent indifference it would be perhaps ungracious to explain. The question must be viewed and discussed from the platform of general principles, and reform must originate with those who are morally responsible for just and righteous government. Even if the individuals concerned were actually, as well as apparently, indifferent, this does not alter the position of the British Government, or lessen its responsibility. Public procedure is a guarantee for justice; light and openness are the characteristics of righteous dealing. Those only love the darkness whose deeds are evil.

I am glad to perceive that this subject has not escaped the notice of one who has devoted much of his time to the study of Indian questions, and whose testimony is well worthy of attention. In an able and telling speech made by Lord William Hay, in December last, he says:—

“The next proposal I have to make is one which has been warmly advocated by Mr. M'C. Torrens in a work recently published, called ‘*Empire in Asia*.’ I mean the appointment of a Committee of the two Houses, to whom should be referred questions arising between the Crown and the Princes of India. ‘Parliament,’ he truly says, ‘in almost every session is asked to inquire into some case of actual injury or threatened depredation; and individual members, not connected with office, are found willing to master the details of a grievance, and to declaim against evil alone, if not against evil-doers. But it usually comes to nothing. Until suitable means are found for the trial of such cases, there will and can be no

sense of security felt by the Princes of India. Why should not unofficial peers and commons deem it a high distinction to be chosen by their fellows as arbitrators in such matters? This suggestion seems to me at once wise and practical. It would not fail to be highly popular with the Princes of India, and would spare us the sight, too often seen, of Indian Princes dancing attendance in the lobby of the House of Commons or in the *salons* of the rich, losing their health, or squandering their resources, in the expectation of, some day, a favourable parliamentary vote. What the Natives liked to feel was that the doors of the Houses of Parliament were ever open to their grievances."

Now, this proposal is not exactly the same as that which I have ventured to make, but it proceeds on the same principle, as did also the suggestions in Mr. Torrens' book, to which Lord W. Hay referred. Without here comparing the relative merits of the schemes proposed, I content myself with urging the disadvantage, the scandal, the dishonesty of secrecy, and the necessity for public procedure, of some sort or other, whether it be a Committee of Parliament or of the Queen's Privy Council, or any other competent public body. I venture to denounce the present system of secret and irresponsible procedure as being wrong in principle, mischievous in practice, a constant source of machination and intrigue, and highly injurious to the character of the British Government. It was a system to be tolerated only when our supremacy was doubtful, when we were struggling for empire, and every dispute or difference might at any time involve political complications, but is at the present day utterly unjustifiable.

I have already given two illustrations—one of the discreditable trickery to which the secret system gives rise, and, on the other hand, of the satisfactory results of open and public procedure. I will now only refer to two further incidents in illustration of my first position.

In the *Times* of January 21 the "Own Correspondent" of that journal thus writes:—

"A very sad case has recently occurred, which throws light on the arts resorted to by so many of our Native feudatories and pensioners to induce the Home authorities to recognize their preposterous claims. Tanjore, a Mahratta State, which we more than once saved from the attacks of the Nawab of the Carnatic, ceased to exist as a principality in 1855. One Sakharam Sahil, married to a lady of the extinct house, has never ceased to hope that he would obtain the State for his wife and honours for himself, since the Secretary of State, in 1860, bestowed upwards of half-a-million sterling on the descendants of Tipoo Sahib. You in England do not know how much money is spent by deluded chiefs in petty newspapers and law agents, and is offered even to Members of Parliament to advocate their personal interests. S. S. was not rich enough to borrow money for such a purpose, like the Mysore Ranee and the N. N., of B., but he became the willing victim of two clumsy forgeries which seemed to promise him the honour coveted for himself and the more substantial position he coveted for his wife. The Native forgers have just been convicted at the session; the Prince has lost his money."

Again, Mr. Grant Duff, the Under-Secretary of State for India, on the 28th of February, read a letter before the Finance Committee of the House of Commons written by some person to a Native chief, in which it was stated that the writer, through his relations with people of rank and power, had the means of corrupting them, and could obtain any information desired out of public officers, and was thereby in a position to advocate the case of any Native chief entrusted to him, "but"—and this sentence is important—"secrecy was required."

Now, if I wanted a living witness to bear testimony to the soundness of my argument, I could not issue a subpoena *duces tecum* on any one more effective than the Under-Secretary of State with this document in his hand. I know not from whom the discreditable notice issued, but I confidently appeal to it as a striking confirmation of all that I have ventured to state. I ask all who are here present to say whether it is not the secret system, now unhappily prevalent, which suggests the idea, and presents the temptation to such dishonourable proposals as these? Could such overtures be ever thought of, if investigation were public? Could any one dream of making such a proposal in regard to cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council? Is there not something wrong in the mode of procedure which offers such inducements to dishonesty? Would not the reform I have proposed give proof to all India that, powerful as the British Government is, it scorned to take advantage of its position, and freely trusted its interests to public and impartial adjudication? Would its adoption not at once put a stop to all intrigue and treachery, whether it be a sensational melodrama in Westminster Abbey, or a dishonest overture like that with which Mr. Grant Duff edified, and doubtless shocked, the Committee?

That Native Princes should have the means of laying real grievances before Her Majesty, and that for this legitimate purpose they should be at full liberty to engage the services of able and trustworthy agents, requires no argument to prove. The evils complained of, whether by the "Own Correspondent" of the *Times* or the Under-Secretary of State, are not, and cannot be, the prosecution of claims, or representation of wrongs, but the intrigues and machinations, which they both lament.

I have now, I apprehend, fully shown that these evils, each and all of them, are the foul progeny of an evil mother; and I would respectfully suggest to those who have the power, either in the columns of the press or by virtue of their official position, to further a reasonable reform in this important matter, that, instead of ventilating the mischief with mere "words, idle words, full of sound, but signifying nothing," they should earnestly employ their influence to render such scandal impossible.

In concluding this paper, I will only add that I have endeavoured, in laying this subject before this Association, to state the case with the greatest moderation possible, and to give, with all fairness, the objections and obstacles to reform usually urged by those who uphold the present system. I had the opportunity of mentioning the subject to Lord Northbrook and Mr. Arthur Hobhouse before they went to India, and I am inclined to believe that among the most able and large-minded of the authorities even in the "Invisible Tribunal" itself, are some who recognize the unsatisfactory character of the present mode of procedure, and the desirability of substituting something more in accordance with the eternal principles of justice, and more in harmony with the ideas and sentiments of the present age.

I am not without hope that the question, when freely ventilated, may attract the attention of some influential Members of Parliament, and thus, on some auspicious day, be seriously discussed before that great tribunal which is finally responsible for the righteous administration of British India. Should this ever take place, there will not, I apprehend, be wanting some who, like George of Aspen, will lift up their voices and say, "Woe to those who seek justice in the haunts of mystery; she dwells in the broad blaze of the sun, and mercy is ever by her side."

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD said he should like to make a few remarks on the subject of Mr. Tayler's address, but he would hardly venture to go into the matter at length; it would be sufficient for him to preface what he had to say by expressing his hearty endorsement of the views of Mr. Tayler. It would not be necessary for him to dwell at any length on the subject, because he had on one or two previous occasions brought forward the same subject at meetings of the Association. Some two or three years ago, the members might recollect that he read a paper on the same topic, when the present Chairman also presided at the meeting, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel. If he enlarged upon the question now, it would only be to repeat what he said then. This it was unnecessary to do; but he would earnestly impress on the members the absolute necessity of taking this matter up in some practical manner, for it was of the highest possible importance to the people of India, and to the permanence of the British Empire in the East. *En passant*, he would like to make a remark by way of explanation of one of the amusing incidents related by Mr. Tayler, with reference to the very extraordinary circular which Mr. Grant Duff read to the Indian Finance Committee. When he saw the statement made by Mr. Grant Duff he thought he discerned the object with which it was made, and he thought it was worth a little more inquiry. He therefore took the trouble to

worm out the matter, and, having got a copy of the circular, he discovered the authors of it. On procuring a copy of the original document, he found that he was right in his suspicion that some trickery had been practised or mistake made. The truth was, that the originators of the letter themselves never intended to issue anything objectionable. Their original draft in English was, he believed, an ordinary business letter, propounding an agency business in London; and soliciting the support of the Natives of India, the firm mentioned their readiness to undertake cases in Parliament. They had this letter translated into Urdu, and he need not say that in translating such a document some considerable care was necessary to insure that no wrong construction should be introduced. But unfortunately, on perusing this circular in Urdu, it did appear to be capable of bearing an objectionable meaning. He was bound to say, however, that the firm by whom it was issued—a highly honourable one in the City of London—had no idea that their meaning had been misrepresented in the way it was by the translation. So much, then, for Mr. Grant Duff's story. Originally, it was certain there was nothing objectionable in the letter, and there was not the slightest intention of laying before the people of India any such intimation as that the firm were prepared to adopt improper means to carry out the work they proposed to do. With reference to the question whether, if a memorial, in the form of a "round robin," were sent to the Princes and Native rulers in India, praying for some reform in the existing condition of affairs, or for the erection of a tribunal in which their cases might be openly adjudicated upon, they would adopt it and sign it, it might be admitted to be doubtful; but he could safely say that a great many of them would gladly hail the institution of such a tribunal. In fact, from his own knowledge, he knew they would do this, however reluctant they might be to avoid giving displeasure to the Government by signing such a petition as had been suggested. As he had observed before, he did not wish to take up the time of the meeting with any remarks on the subject, because his views on the matter had already been made public; but he would venture to say a few words, in order to point out how easily the proposition might be carried into effect. He had discussed the question with numbers of gentlemen of influence, members of Parliament, officials of the Indian Government, and others, and it was very remarkable how many of these, in whose hands the power rested to create the remedy, were fully disposed to admit the existence of the evil. One eminent member of the present Government said to him, "I fully agree with you in the matter." "Why, then, don't you set about a reform?" The reply was, "Well, you know we can do nothing in the way of initiating such a step. You must agitate the question.

"But I may tell you frankly, that, so far as my experience goes on the subject, I believe it would be the best possible measure that could be devised." Such was the opinion of an influential member of the Government; such also was the opinion of men of great experience—Sir John Kay, for instance; and such, also, it was no secret to say, was the opinion of no inconsiderable portion of the Indian Council itself. With regard to the mode in which the question should be brought to a head, it might be done in this way; and he would mention that he was not giving utterance to his own opinions only on this point, but those which had been expressed by members of Parliament. A committee of four or five members of Parliament, who were familiar with the details of the subject, should be formed to take the matter in hand, and agree to co-operate with each other in doing so. Of course, in the present position of the House of Commons, it would be almost useless to attempt to carry out anything of the kind, because it was generally supposed that its existence would not be much further prolonged. At any rate, whatever changes may happen, it was certain, as Professor Fawcett remarked the other night, there were numbers of gentlemen in the House who would never find their way back again. He was quite sure every member of the Association would agree with him in the expression of the hope that the electors of Penrhyn would take care that the Chairman would find his way back there—(hear, hear)—and the Committee now proposed could not have a better man at its head if he would undertake the work. (Hear, hear.) If Mr. Torrens, Sir Chas. Wingfield, and two or three others of a like calibre, would take seats in the committee, they could devise a bill, and it would be carried—at least by a Conservative Ministry. He would occupy the remainder of the time at his disposal by reading a short sketch of a Bill which he drew out himself a little time ago, with the view of securing the reform now urged; and although he did not mean to say that this draft Bill should be carried out in its present form exactly, yet the sketch might be taken as the foundation of a measure which would be accepted by the House of Commons. In the preamble of the Bill he had alluded to one very important point, to which he had frequently drawn attention in connection with the matter, and that was the bearing of the State railways on the problem. When they came to consider the conditions under which the State railways of India were being carried on, they would at once appreciate their important relation to the subject. There were 2,000 miles of these railways now being constructed in India, and some, at least, of these would run through independent territories. When it is considered how the construction of these would have the effect of bringing an immense number of Englishmen and other British subjects into

those states to reside there while carrying on the works, and when it is considered how the resources of these districts must be drawn upon for supplies, and how many questions relating to the transfer of real and personal property would necessarily spring up, it was apparent that there were, or would be, present all those conditions which, in every civilized community in the world, necessitated the institution of a tribunal before which all disputes could be heard and adjudicated upon in open court. Therefore it was that he was strongly of opinion that the formation of the State railways would have the effect of bringing the matter to a head; and hence the necessity that the subject should receive the early attention of Parliament, so that the Government might be prepared for any complications which might arise. The draft Bill he had drawn was as follows:—

“Whereas it is expedient to provide for the better administration of justice in territories without the jurisdiction of Her Majesty’s Municipal Courts in India, and in matters arising between Her Majesty’s Indian Government on the one hand, and the Sovereign Chiefs or Rulers of Territories in India, whose rights and relations as between themselves and their successors and their subjects on the one hand, and Her Majesty’s Indian Government on the other, are defined and regulated by treaties and agreements; and—

“Whereas the construction and management of such portions of the State railways as shall pass through territories in which Her Majesty’s Municipal Courts have no jurisdiction, will necessarily give rise to conditions which render it imperative that there shall be some court of judicature, or some legal process by which parties whose rights have been infringed may obtain a remedy:

“It is hereby enacted, &c.—

“That wherever a chief or ruler of a State or Territory without the jurisdiction of the Municipal Courts in India is aggrieved by an Act of Her Majesty’s Government or any of its officers, which being an Act of State involves, or is alleged to involve a personal wrong, or whenever any dispute shall arise between such chief or ruler and Her Majesty’s Government or any of its officers or others acting under the orders of Her Majesty’s Government, and for the time being resident in, or carrying on business in the territories of such chief, or

“Whenever any such chief or ruler shall be personally affected by the breach of any agreement entered into between Her Majesty’s Indian Government on the one hand, and himself or his representatives, or those whose rights and liabilities have by law devolved upon him, on the other, or whenever any dispute shall arise as to the interpretation of any agreement or contract entered into between Her Majesty’s

“ Government, or those whose rights and liabilities have devolved upon it or its representatives, on the one hand, and such chief or ruler and his representatives, or those whose rights and liabilities have by law devolved upon him, on the other :

“ It shall be lawful for either of the parties feeling itself aggrieved by the conduct of the other to apply by its representatives to the High Court of the nearest province for a Commission of Arbitration to issue from such Court, such Commission to consist of one of the Judges of the High Court and the Political Agent under whose charge the state or territory whose chief or ruler is a party to the suit shall happen to be, and of one other arbitrator nominated by the other party to the suit, to examine the subject-matter of such dispute, and to take and to record evidence thereon in the manner and under the rules prescribed in the several Acts of the Civil Procedure in vogue in the province aforesaid.

“ And it shall be lawful for such Commission, after examination of evidence, to proceed to judgment, provided that both parties shall agree to be bound by the award of judgment of the Commission, from which award and judgment there will be no appeal.

“ And in the event of the parties not agreeing to be bound by the decision of the Commission, then the Commission shall complete the record of the evidence and transmit it under seal to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India shall within six months of the arrival of such record appoint a Committee of the Indian Council, consisting of not more than seven and not less than five, who shall proceed to hear and determine the case in open court, each party being represented by Counsel, under the forms and regulations as to printing and supplying copies of the record made and provided for appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ; and the award of such Court, when it has received the sanction of Her Majesty, shall be final.”

That would show how very easily a measure of this kind might be carried out ; it merely required a tribunal to be formed to take and to record the evidence and transmit it to England, where the case could be heard publicly, Counsel appearing, if necessary, for both sides. All difficulty with regard to the method of procedure is provided for already by the rules and regulations in force for the guidance of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He would not enter further into the subject, but he earnestly hoped that, as this was a matter which had been so long before the Association, they would now take steps to reduce the suggestions which had been made into some practical measure. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE said no one could doubt that a great deal of injustice had resulted from the present system, and even where there had been no failure of justice there existed much dissatisfaction. So far as the remedy proposed by Lord William Hay was concerned, there was an Act of Parliament passed in the last century in which there was an arrangement by which committees composed of members of both of the Houses of Parliament were to be appointed to decide questions as between Native Princes and Rajahs and the Indian Government. But, for some reason or other, the Act must have entirely failed, because it had dropped completely out of existence. So far as he understood the question, it appeared to him that the chief source of complaint was the want of publicity; and his own opinion was that it did not much matter how the tribunal was composed, nor did it materially signify how it was appointed, so long as publicity to its proceedings was secured. He remembered hearing of a case when there was considerable contention in the House of Commons as to how a committee was to be constituted, when an eminent member exclaimed, "It does not matter who are the committee, so long as the evidence is correctly taken and accurately reported—the public will do the rest." In the same way, he believed it did not much matter who formed the Indian Tribunal, provided that its proceedings be public, as the common sense of the nation would see whether the judgments were in accordance with the evidence or not. Entertaining these views, he would suggest that it was not necessary for the Association to delay progress by debating who should form the Tribunal. Nothing was more likely than that the Secretary of State for India would decline to part with any of his power. Let him therefore keep it, and be asked to constitute the Tribunal from the Judicial Committee of his own Council, which comprised men familiar with Indian affairs, and perfectly competent to form a sound opinion upon any question likely to arise. They had a good precedent in the history of the Privy Council of England; for when the colonies were established there arose numbers of cases which could not come before the ordinary English courts of law, because they had no jurisdiction over the countries in which the points at issue originated. Hence they were taken before the Privy Council, which at that time had no Judicial Committee. A want was thus created, which was supplied by the appointment of a committee for the purpose of hearing and adjudicating on such cases; and the operations of this tribunal were entirely satisfactory, and in process of time it developed itself into what is now the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. They might for India follow this precedent, established in 1690, of hearing cases before a committee of the Indian Council. If the point in dispute really involved a political question, the Secretary of

State must, of course, decide it himself; but the other cases, involving points of law and questions of evidence, should be handed over for the consideration of the Indian Council, who could fix certain days on which they would hear the petitioners, who might appear with their legal advisers and support their causes in open court. Having heard the matter argued on both sides, the Committee would give a decision which should be final. He believed that this would provide an easy way out of the present difficulty. Instead of Native rulers going about asking for the aid of different members of Parliament, and writing their complaints to the newspapers, the case would come on in the ordinary course the reporters of the press would be present, and all the usual securities for the administration of impartial justice would be provided; and if the result did not give entire satisfaction, it would, at any rate, dispose at once and for ever of those assertions of injustice which were now made, and to which a colour was given by the fact that the deliberations of the Committee were shrouded in darkness.

Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS said he had much pleasure in expressing his entire concurrence in the views expressed by preceding speakers; and in reference to the suggestions made by Mr. Tayler, he would submit that there were two points which it was necessary to insure in the constitution of the proposed Tribunal. These were—first, that it should be so composed as to be in a position to give an impartial decision; secondly, that its proceedings be public. It seemed very extraordinary that in this, the latter half of the nineteenth century, they should be called upon to agitate for a Tribunal which would give publicity to its proceedings, for the evils of secret procedure in courts of law were historical and beyond contradiction, and nothing was more generally admitted than that, for the administration of justice to give satisfaction, its operations must be open and unconcealed. Three grand principles were applicable to judicial proceedings in administration: they should be public, they should be impartial, and the decisions should be speedily given; and the provisions of these three conditions—a speedy, impartial, and public trial—should be the constant aim of every good Government. Mr. Tayler had commented very ably upon the disadvantages of proceedings conducted before a tribunal constituted like the Indian Council, although he tempered much of his strictures by remarks which acquitted the Indian Council of any intentional perversion of justice in adjudicating on the cases of the Indian Princes and rulers. That there was nothing like a desire to be harsh, or to do anything but impartial justice, every man acquainted with Indian affairs would say from his heart, as indeed the same might be said of the whole body of Indian officials both at home and in India. No one doubted that the Indian Council were a body of honourable, high-minded,

and conscientious men ; and it was not at these that Mr. Taylor's arguments had been directed, but to want of publicity, the systematic secrecy which shrouded their proceedings. Mr. Prichard had suggested the introduction of a Bill into Parliament, and the draft which he had sketched seemed to meet the evil in some degree ; but he thought it would be out of place for the Association to go so far as to procure its introduction in the House of Commons without preliminary preparations. Situated as they were—a medium between the Princes of India and the official authorities at home—it was clearly absolutely necessary that they should first secure some outside help to support them. The Princes and rulers of India should be applied to, and a petition should be drawn up and presented to each of them, and this petition might be couched in the most unobjectionable terms. It would simply ask a confirmation of the rights given by the Queen's Proclamation to India, by which Her Majesty accorded the privileges of British citizenship to the people. Under that Proclamation it was clear that these rulers were British subjects, and it was monstrous to say that they had no right to public trial, and contrary to every precedent that they should be amenable to a tribunal which carried on its proceedings in a secret manner. Only the other day it had been his duty to wait upon an official of high standing in the India Office, regarding a case in which the relation of the Government to the aggrieved party was much the same as that of the fox with the goose. In fact, it was impossible to expect a fair decision. In the first place, this high official had the kindness to assure him that there was every anxiety to do justice, and that the Council were a body of most conscientious men, whose only desire was to be fair and just. This was fully admitted, and he (the speaker) left the India Office with no better consolation than the conviction that there was no possibility of moving in the interest of his client. In a similar way he had had several applications from parties in India, asking that their cases might be represented ; but it had been his duty—knowing from experience what would be the result of any such endeavour—to reply that the attempt would be simply useless. Hence he contended that it was impossible for the Council to mete out justice. In connection with this he might mention one extraordinary source of trouble to the Council, originating in the pensions which were awarded to various Princes and Chiefs who had been deprived of power. Some of these pensions were for life, and some were hereditary, and according to an established practice, these pensions were divided and subdivided, so that frequently, in the course of a term of years, there was next to nothing left, and the recipients became nothing more than paupers. Hence it happened that in India there were at this moment hundreds of impoverished Princes and Rajahs, and the only wonder

was that they did not resort to intrigue, and try to injure the Government as much as possible. If the Association would draw up a petition, supported as it would be by many members of Parliament who were connected with the Association, praying for an open tribunal and a speedy trial, he did not think there would be any reluctance to sign it. Mr. Prichard's scheme might go on at the same time; and speaking of that gentleman, he might venture to say that the Native rulers and Princes of India were deeply indebted to Mr. Prichard for the talent and perseverance which he volunteered in their cause. There was not a man who, having the welfare of India at heart, would not say that gratitude was due to Mr. Prichard for his exertions in this matter; and there would be equally little difference of opinion that, should Mr. Prichard look to enter Parliament, his abilities would command success. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel FRENCH said he perfectly agreed that the present system often resulted in the failure of justice, or gave suspicion for it. The case of the Ameers of Scinde was one coming within his own and the Chairman's knowledge, and no doubt there were many other cases of an equally flagrant character. He thought Mr. Prichard's idea of creating a local tribunal was an excellent one, for there cases might be heard openly and disposed of rapidly, and in this way much injury would be avoided, and benefit conferred on the people. To instance the well-known case of the Nawab of Tonk, it would evidently have been far better if the Governor-General had had some tribunal of this kind—a court composed of two or three judges, collecting evidence on the spot, and hearing it in public. Such a course would be infinitely more advantageous than the institution of a sort of Inquisition, and the furnishing of a report to the Viceroy of only one side of the case. In conclusion, Colonel French said it was his duty to propose the thanks of the Association to Mr. W. Tayler for his able address; and to this he would add the name of Mr. Prichard, whose valuable suggestions would doubtless be appreciated.

Sir ARTHUR COTTON, K.C.S.I., said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion, and would avail himself of the opportunity to say a few words. In the first place, he thought this discussion showed in the strongest manner the immense importance of the East India Association in the field in which it was working; and, secondly, he could not help expressing his astonishment at the course of reasoning by which men could arrive at the conclusion that, because they are in power, therefore they can do nothing to remedy an evil. Yet they had good evidence that this was the feeling of men in high office, and they assumed that any movement for reform must come from those out of power. The fact was, that the subject they had just been con-

sidering was one of the most vital importance, for there could be no confidence where secrecy existed, and where there was no confidence no ruling power could be strong. While so evident a fact as this was advanced, he confessed he was at a loss to know why secrecy continued to be applied in reference to Indian affairs. He was extremely pleased that this matter had been brought forward in so unexceptional and able a manner by Mr. Tayler; no better or more convincing exposition of the case could have been presented. In his own experience he had seen the evils of secrecy in India; indeed, in his own profession it had operated in raising prejudice so strong that he had to take very special measures to counteract it. As long as there was secrecy, the spirit of intrigue, which was to be found in the Natives of India in perhaps a greater degree than any other people in the world, found ample scope for its operations, and he found that nothing could prevent it unless there was complete openness and publicity. He used to meet with great difficulties in carrying out his plans in India; and he found the only cure was to summon all the chief Natives, and tell them everything that was proposed to be done, and then ask them their opinion. This utterly broke the strength of the prejudice which intrigue had aroused, and the manœuvring ceased. And such a principle was exactly what was required in relation to the causes of the Native Princes and rulers of India; and it was especially necessary at the present time, when, if the British Government in India was to be secure, they must examine the weak points of their management. How to secure the full confidence of the people was of vital importance, and the retention of the Secret System in regard to India was a serious bar to it, for no chief or ruler could tell what intrigues were brewing against him in the dark, or what machinations were being secretly directed at him. Now that a great Power in the North was advancing, all legitimate means should be called in to aid the consolidation of the British power in India, for its strength would probably some day be tried. It was, therefore, a matter deserving all the attention of the Association, and whatever influence they could bring to bear to effect a reform would be labour well applied. No more useful work could be given to the Association than an endeavour to lay before the authorities any suggestions which might be devised, and to so place the matter before them as to render it impossible to postpone it or say they can do nothing in the matter. He heartily seconded the motion, thanking Mr. Tayler for his most instructive and valuable address.

The motion having been agreed to *nem. con.*,

The CHAIRMAN said it gave him much pleasure to offer the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Tayler for his valuable paper. The discussion had been a most interesting one; they had first an exposure of evils by

Mr. Tayler, a valuable proposal of remedy from Mr. Prichard, and other useful suggestions had been offered by Colonel French, Colonel Rathborne, and other speakers. It so happened that, in coming to the meeting, he was accompanied by a leading member of the present Government, to whom he mentioned, in conversation, the subject of the meeting of the Association that evening. The rejoinder was, "Oh, that subject is coming up again, is it? Well, the whole question is beset with difficulties, and I really do not see that anything can be done." In fact, from the slight conversation he had on the subject, he was not inclined to think that, so far as that member of the Government was concerned, there was much chance of anything being done, and he was equally doubtful whether they would get the Government to make any movement. Of course, the influence of the Government was powerful in the present Parliament; and, besides, there was a question whether Parliament would be disposed to give up to a court from which there would be no appeal the power to decide in certain cases. It was a curious thing that the only Indian matters in which Parliament took an interest were exactly those to which Mr. Tayler had referred. If the case of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal was down for discussion, or some other similar case, a troop of members came into the House and took an interest in the matter; but if the Indian Budget was to be presented, or any great measure in which the safety and interests of India were involved, then it was very difficult to get a "House." Upon consideration, he would suggest to the Association that the address of Mr. Tayler, the draft Bill of Mr. Prichard, and the other suggestions which had been offered, should be printed, and placed in the hands of the members of Parliament who belonged to the Association, and that those members should be invited to consult upon them, in order to see what could be done with the best chance of success in Parliament. He did not see any other way in which they could carry out this proposal, and it was certainly possible that, if they got six or eight members of Parliament to take an interest in the matter, they might carry out some scheme which there would be no chance of a single member getting through. At any rate, his suggestion would lead to some practical result.

The Chairman's proposal was then put and carried *nem. con.*

Mr. DANVERS (India Office), however, objected that by taking this course they were adopting also everything which Mr. Tayler had advanced. Now he thought there were some things in Mr. Tayler's paper which on reflection he would not care to repeat in print; and hence he thought it would be better to circulate the discussion among the members of the Association first, in order to give them an opportunity of saying whether they approved of it. There were several statements made by

Mr. Tayler which he would find it difficult to prove, and they should not hastily adopt them.

The CHAIRMAN said that when the discussion was printed, it would, of course, be circulated among the members of the Association as well as Members of Parliament. Nothing would be done by the latter without a second reference after they had considered it. Unless they now took some positive step, he did not see how they would get on; for, of course, if the whole thing was to be referred again to the members of the Association, they must summon another meeting, and by that time, the Parliament being already in a moribund condition, the whole thing would be deferred to the Greek Kalends.

Mr. TAYLER observed that it would be desirable, on referring the subject to members of Parliament in order to devise a practical result, that the great question, which he had endeavoured to separate from detail, should be kept in the front, and that was the absolute necessity for publicity. He had not, and he would not now suggest any distinct proposition as to the constitution of any specific tribunal; because, coming up in this crude state, it would raise a thousand objections. But if they could so shape the matter before the members of Parliament who take an interest in the matter, as to insure the first consideration of the grand proposition that every man is entitled to publicity in his trial, they would be more likely to bring about a practical conclusion. He thought they would then have made the first step with more prospect of success than if they entered into details respecting any particular tribunal. Mr. Prichard's draft Bill proposed one distinct method, Colonel Rathborne proposed another; and proposals coming up in this way were always open to objections, which would lead to endless difficulty, and would perhaps "floor" the whole matter. By all means let the matter be circulated widely. It might be true that the Princes and chiefs of India would be reluctant to sign a petition asking for redress, but there was not one of them but would be thankful for the reform. At any rate, let them know there is such a movement being made by the Association, and their opinions might be obtained in various ways. In any case, it is certain that every man is entitled to publicity in any legal proceeding affecting his interests, and he would repeat that that was the grand point for the members of Parliament to consider. The other details would necessarily fall into their right place on that principle being conceded; and that was the reason he had carefully avoided entering into details of the kind of tribunal which should be created.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that it was scarcely necessary for him to say that members of Parliament were overwhelmed with work, and unless some specific proposal was submitted to them, they would speedily forget

the whole subject. Put some positive plan or scheme before them as the objects to be achieved, or the whole matter would be chased out of their head by some local Bill, or some question relating to public-houses, or local politics. If they wished to carry the matter through, the Association must put some definite plan down for consideration, so that the members of Parliament might think it over; but if they merely laid down the abstract proposition that it was desirable that there should be publicity in legal proceedings, they would say, "We think so too," and then they would forget all about it. He therefore still thought his proposition was the best for the purpose, and the meeting had, moreover, adopted it. There would be no harm done in submitting the matter in this way to the members of Parliament; they would do nothing without referring again to the Association. No doubt the members of Parliament interested in the matter would then hold a conference together, and there were several in the House of Commons who could render valuable assistance—as, for instance, Mr. Torrens, as a lawyer; Mr. Dickinson (who was present), as a practical man; Sir Charles Wingfield, and others.

Mr. DANVERS observed that in saying that there were statements made by Mr. Tayler which it would be difficult to substantiate, he had expressed his own convictions.

Mr. TAYLER said he would be glad to hear an instance in point.

Mr. DANVERS said Mr. Tayler would hardly deliberately repeat the assertion that the Indian Council were open to the influence of intrigue, and that the fountain of justice was in this way corrupted.

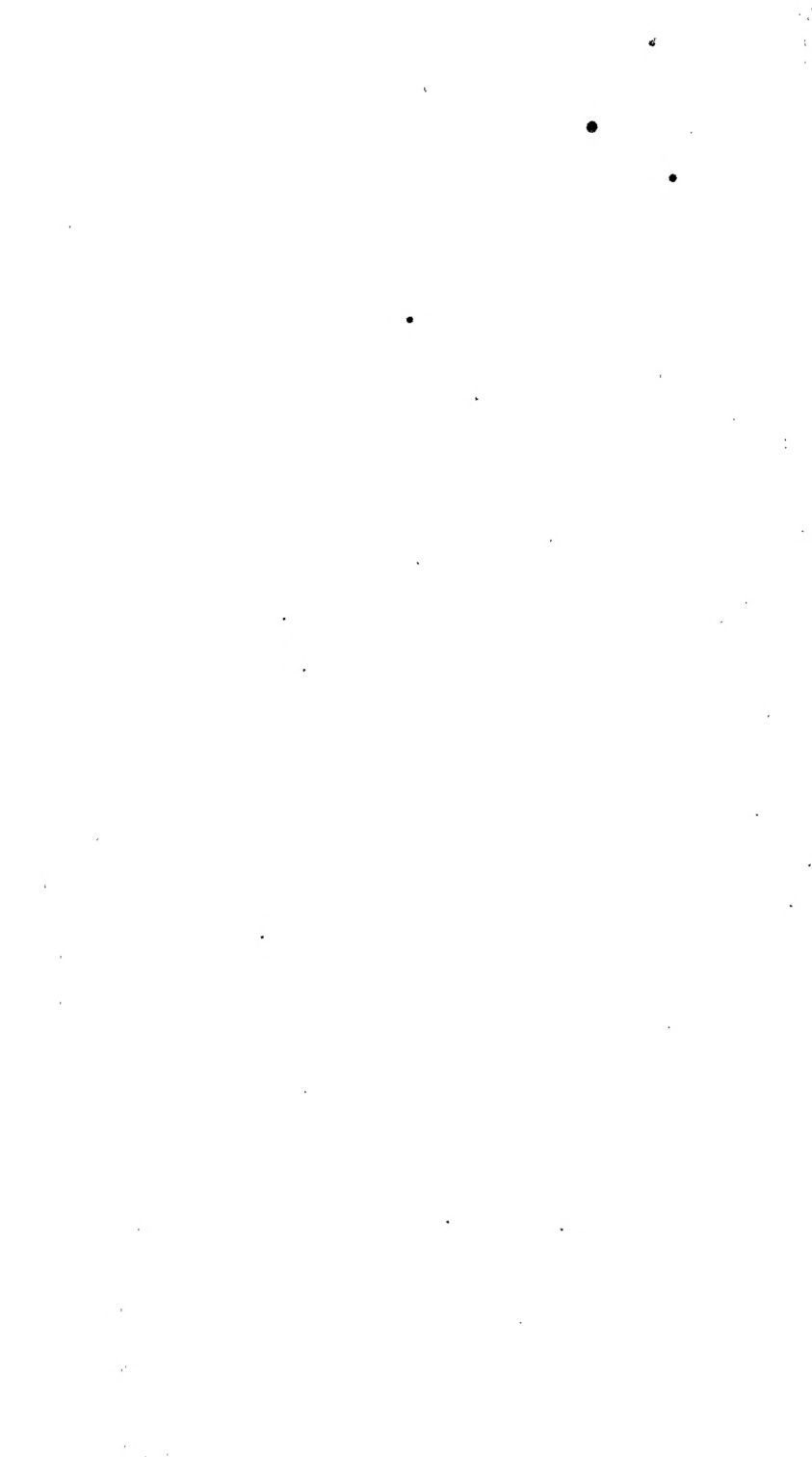
Mr. TAYLER said that Mr. Danvers had evidently misunderstood him. He had never entertained the idea that the Indian Council was composed of other than high-minded, incorruptible men; his remarks were directed against the principle of secrecy; intrigue and fraud were practised, as he had shown, by the parties interested in the cases. This is the fact to which he referred, and he never for a moment supposed that any one could have imagined him to have applied his remarks to any other persons.

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Captain W. C. PALMER seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the compliment, said it was his duty to be present, and it was his pleasure also.

The proceedings then terminated.



THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE PROMOTION OF ALL PUBLIC INTERESTS OF INDIA,

20, GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON, S.W.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE ROOMS OF THE ASSOCIATION, THURSDAY,
JULY 10, 1873.

JOHN DICKINSON, Esq. (Chairman of the late Indian Reform
Society), IN THE CHAIR.

Discussion on "The Land Question of India."

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Rooms of the Association, 20, Great George Street, Westminster, on Thursday, July 10, for the purpose of resuming the discussion on Colonel A. B. Rathborne's paper on "The Land Question of India."

JOHN DICKINSON, Esq. (Chairman of the late Indian Reform Society), occupied the chair, and amongst those present were Sir Charles Wingfield; H. W. Freeland, Esq.; I. T. Prichard, Esq.; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.; Major-General W. F. Marriott; Mirza Abbas Beg; Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, Esq.; P. P. Gordon, Esq.; Anderjee Cowasjee, Esq.; Khan Bahadoor Yossuf Ali; Colonels G. A. Scarle, P. T. French, and Keatinge; Captain Palmer, &c.

It will be remembered that on the previous occasion (see Page 25) Colonel A. B. Rathborne had urged the following as some of the more prominent alterations in the present land system of India which might be introduced:—

1. Our thirty years' settlements should be made on the old Hindu basis of a sixth share to the State, instead of a third or fourth. The latter rates were well enough when the rent was taken in kind, and when the State found so large a portion of the capital required for the cultivation as it did under the Native system; but a sixth share is quite sufficient when the payment has to be made, as now, in money, no matter what the produce sells for, and when the cultivator receives no advances or pecuniary assistance from the Government, but is left entirely dependent on his own resources.

2. The assessment should not be made by the acre, but on the holding, as with farms on lease in Scotland and in England; or by the village, where the land is held in common. Because the former plan, if it does not hinder, does not at all encourage increased cultivation; as

every additional acre brought under the plough, an addition is made to the rent, notwithstanding the so-called thirty years' settlement; while, under the latter system, it is the direct interest of the cultivator to bring every additional acre he can under the plough, during the term of his lease, that the extent of his holding or of the village lands will admit of.

3. The distinction made in the assessment of land under sugar-cane and other expensive kinds of produce, and land under cereals, should be wholly abolished. All lands capable of profitable tillage should be assessed at the rate of grain-growing land; leaving the cultivator to turn his holding, or any portion of it, to the cultivation of more expensive kinds of produce, if he thinks proper. These all require much more capital to grow than grain does, and the crop is generally more precarious, for which allowance should be made by the Government; while it is to its direct interest to encourage as much as possible the application of capital in this direction, as being calculated to add so much more to the national wealth, as well as, indirectly, to the receipts of the public treasury.

4. The distinction between irrigated and dry crops should be similarly done away with, except in the single case specified by the Mahomedan law, when the water is directly supplied at the expense of the Government. Whatever results from wells dug by the present or preceding cultivators, or from water-channels or canals made by them, and supplied from a public stream or river, or from the natural overflow of such, should be allowed to make no difference in the assessment. Such result is the work of God, or the reward of the cultivator or his predecessor's own ingenuity and industry, and he should be permitted to have the free enjoyment of it by the Government. The system at present followed in regard to such lands is in many places a direct hindrance to cultivators seeking in this way to increase their produce, as well as to raise the more expensive kind of crops, for which irrigation is required; whereas it is the direct interest of the Government, as well as of the people, that every inducement should be held out to cultivators to improve their land, and add to its productiveness to the uttermost, by works of this kind, when they have the will and ability to undertake them.

5. The proprietor, or immediate occupant under Government, of every holding should be entitled to all the minerals under it, as well as to all deposits in the nature of mineral deposits on it, on payment of a royalty of one-tenth to the Government. On similar conditions he should be entitled to all treasure found by him on the land, of which there are enormous quantities buried in India; the bringing to light of every portion of which would add to that extent to the national wealth there.

6. Riparian owners, or immediate occupants under Government, should be free to take the fish of lakes and rivers, and the wild fowl frequenting them, without being interfered with by the servants of the Government. At present these are, or were when I was in India, farmed out annually to speculators by the collector, and so made a source of revenue. But the gain to the Government was very small; while the making them free would be a boon to the people, as well as adding to their sense of proprietorship, which the present plan detracts from.

7. At the periodical revision of the assessment, every improvement of a permanent character which has been made by the proprietor occupant should be carefully noted, and the value of it estimated by some impartial person, who should act as referee between himself and the Government officer; and no additional rent should be charged in respect of any increase of rental value to the holding arising out of such improvement. The same rule should apply to improvements, whether in the shape of roads, works of irrigation, or any other kind, made by the proprietary occupants of a village or a district, or of any number of districts, at their collective expense, as by local taxation or otherwise. No addition to their rent should be made at any revision of the assessment in respect of the increased rental value of the land occasioned by, or attributable to, such improvements.

8. Persons desirous of reclaiming waste lands should be allowed to do so, subject to any existing rights of occupancy, on the terms of its being rent-free for the first ten years of a thirty years' term of settlement, paying a third of the usual rent for the second ten years, and two-thirds of the usual rent for the last ten years; after which it should be assessed to them at the ordinary rates for grain-growing lands in the vicinity.

9. All persons holding land direct from the Government, and subject to the Government assessment, should be entitled, on application to the collector of the district, to redeem in perpetuity the rent payable under such assessment, and convert their holding into one of freehold tenure, on the terms of paying the capitalized value of the rent so redeemed into the Indian Treasury, according to the principle followed in the redemption of the land-tax in England; that is, by paying for every Rs.20 of annual rent to be redeemed, the amount that may be required to purchase, at the rate of the day, paper of any of the Government loans producing Rs.20 of interest annually; the money so paid to be devoted to the redemption of the Indian debt by the purchase and cancelling of the paper of it, as long as there was any. This would tend to give great buoyancy to the finances; the same income would be received, while

saving all the costs of collecting it by the Indian Treasury ; it would open that door to the investment of capital in land and landed improvements in India which is so much required, and it would gradually enable the Government to withdraw from the false position it now stands in, by putting it in the power of all who desire it to acquire the fee-simple of the lands in which they have now merely a right of occupation, at any rent the settlement officers may from time to time think fit to put upon them. Freedom of sale, and freedom of purchase, and freedom of use would then be established ; and free trade in land is as essential to the complete development of every country's resources as is free trade in other articles.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, gave a complete *résumé* and analysis of the previous discussion. Before calling upon General Marriott to resume the discussion, he would venture to add that he had always had strong opinions on the present condition of land tenure in India, and, indeed, he believed it to be the bane of India that the Government assumed the land to be the sole source of revenue. These were his convictions—the convictions of a quarter of a century's consideration of the subject, and he would be glad to take the opportunity of expressing them more at length at a later stage of the discussion.

Major-General W. F. MARRIOTT said that, in venturing to address the meeting in opposition to Colonel Rathborne's views, he was encouraged by the reflection that the intrinsic interest of the subject would obtain the patient attention which otherwise his own want of skill in exposition might fail to secure. Land Tenure is one of the foundation-stones of constitutional structure. A review of the social struggles connected with the tenure of land would extend over all historic time. From the earliest history we have, in which we learn how Joseph (inverting the policy recommended by Colonel Rathborne) used, in prudent preparation for a famine, to base the State revenue entirely on the land, down to this present year and session of Parliament, in which the removal of inconveniences attending our traditional feudal system, and the amelioration of the condition of the agricultural labourers, are recognized as amongst the pressing questions of the day. He did not propose to discuss all the particular recommendations with which Colonel Rathborne had concluded his paper ; because, although stated by Colonel Rathborne in order to exhibit fully his own views, they aver, for the most part, matters of detail, and such a Society as this can only usefully discuss fundamental or central points of policy or system ; and he entirely concurred with the Chairman's suggestion that the discussion should be restricted to the question of permanently fixing or redeeming the land revenue. The line of argument he proposed to take would be as follows : He would first take such notice as seemed

desirable of Colonel Rathborne's arguments, and then, assuming a basis of discussion on which all would agree—viz., that India is a poor country, specially needing the application of capital to the land—he would argue that the measure of redemption, instead of meeting this need, would have the very opposite effect, that it would drive capital away from the land. Then, viewing the existing land revenue of India as a fiscal measure, he would endeavour to show that economic science, experience, and traditional national sentiments are in singular and happy accord in support of it, constituting the strongest possible argument in favour of any fiscal impost whatever. Lastly, he would notice the proposal to permanently fix the tax without redeeming it. Adverting to Colonel Rathborne's address, General Marriott observed that, one point excepted which he would notice presently, he really could not find any true arguments in it. Colonel Rathborne exhibited the indisputably greater wealth of England, America, and Australia, as compared with India, and then simply assumed that the difference was owing entirely to the different system of land tenure. But the condition of the greater part of India, after the desolating wars by the Moguls and the Mahrattas in the last century, made a comparison of India with England after the Wars of the Roses more appropriate than with the England of to-day; and when they considered how much of the great prosperity of England is due to the energy and enterprise of a Northern race, to the mineral wealth of the country and the extraordinary facilities for manufactures and export trade, Colonel Rathborne's argument would seem unanswerable in the same sense as it is impossible to parry a thrust which is aimed so wide as to be out of reach. He did not know what Colonel Rathborne meant in saying that the present tenure of land in India is subject to shackles not very different to those which were removed by the Act of Charles the Second, which abolished the peculiar privileges of the Crown in relation to the lands held *in capite* by knight-service. He was not aware of any point of similarity or analogy as respects any claims of the British Government connected with land revenue. In fact, there was no resemblance whatever to India in the matter, and Colonel Rathborne's argument seemed to have no better relation than mere co-existence. But Colonel Rathborne offered one statement which was a good argument in form, although it was wholly unfounded in fact. He says that the Province of Bengal, in which the land revenue has been permanently settled, affords a "striking contrast" of prosperity, as compared with the other provinces. He (General Marriott) had supposed that, whatever might be said in favour of a permanent settlement, the notion that the particular experience of the Bengal settlement offered any favourable presumption, had been ex-

ploded. But it seems that it is not so; and therefore it might be worth while to notice the point particularly. He would compare the Province of Bengal with the Presidency of Bombay. This seemed the fairest comparison, because no other province contains a city and port of trade at all approaching Calcutta in extent. Even this comparison is probably favourable to Bengal, because Calcutta must probably be a port of entry for a larger population beyond the limits of the province than Bombay in relation to the Presidency of Bombay. The figures that he would offer are taken from the latest statistical return published by the India Office, and are those of the year 1871. The population of Bengal is about 40,000,000, against 13,000,000 in Bombay—say, as three to one. In the first place, Bombay pays a land revenue nearly equal to that of Bengal. It amounts to 5.4s. a-head in Bombay and 2s. a-head in Bengal. The payment per head in Bombay, therefore, is about two-and-a-half times that in Bengal. But, of course, this was to be expected; for this is the measure of the supposed boon—a real boon to the zemindar—which is the source of the supposed greater wealth of Bengal. We might, therefore, expect to see the greater wealth of Bengal exhibited by the income-tax; but the payment in Bombay was 7.9d. per head, and in Bengal 4.09d. per head—*i.e.*, nearly double in Bombay. The revenue from stamps was, in Bombay, 10.42d. per head, and in Bengal 4.42d. The Excise exhibits a payment per head in Bombay of 8.28d. against 4.42d. in Bengal. The comparison of the Customs' duties is probably favourable to Bengal, for the reason, previously stated, of the larger population beyond the province concerned in the produce or consumption of the articles which afford the Customs' duties; and yet they show a payment of 13.9d. per head in Bombay against 6.82d. in Bengal. Is the prosperity exhibited in the actual condition of the population? He (General Marriott) quoted at second-hand, but he had no doubt that he accurately quoted the words of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in saying that "the mass of the population is probably poorer and "in a lower social position than any in India." The fact is, that the notion of the superior prosperity of Bengal is the most entire delusion. But it may be said that even an erroneous opinion, if very prevalent, must have some foundation; and what is the foundation of the supposed great wealth of the Bengal Province? The foundation seems to be the large surplus revenue which the public accounts exhibit. In the year 1870-71 the surplus for Bengal was shown as 10,000,000*l.*; that of Bombay under 2,000,000*l.*, being 1,831,653*l.* But it must be remembered that the accounts of Bengal, as of every other province under what is called the Bengal Presidency, are exhibited without the inclusion of any military charges. These are all shown in a separate account of "Govern-

"ment of India Charges," whilst the accounts of Madras and Bombay include these military charges. For any comparison of Bombay with Bengal, the Bombay accounts must be supposed to be treated similarly, by exclusion of the military charges, and the result is that Bombay would thus exhibit a surplus of 5,000,000*l.* provided by Bombay with its 13,000,000 of people, against a surplus of 10,000,000*l.* in Bengal from 40,000,000, and a much richer soil on the average. A great part of the large surplus in Bengal is derived from the entirely exceptional opium revenue. The net surplus on the account alone was 3,500,000*l.* for the year 1870-71. But the comparison most favourable to Bengal would be by omitting the opium revenue from both Bombay and Bengal, in which case the surpluses would be 2,250,000*l.* and 6,250,000*l.* respectively. Even then Bengal is shown to be paying less revenue than Bombay in proportion to its population. He would now treat the question before them independently of Colonel Rathborne's arguments. He had said that he would take as an admitted basis of discussion that India is a poor country, one in which the standard of sustenance is low and the surplus produce small; and that India specially needs the application of capital to the land. Sixty per cent. at least of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits, and manufactures occupied but a very small proportion. Hence there was a general reason for the application of capital to the land; but there was a special and peculiar reason in the need of irrigational works, it being only by a great development of artificial means of storing water that the terrible famines which recur in India could be averted; whilst the heat has an equally extraordinary fertilizing power when water is abundant; and only second in importance to irrigation is the indirect application of capital to agriculture by improvement of the means of transport of produce. In treating on the effect of a redemption of the land revenue, he should assume that the permission would be largely effective. He thought it most probable that it would be very ineffective, for want of capital wherewith to purchase the redemption; but in treating its tendency he would assume that it would be effective to a considerable extent. Moreover, he should compare the proposed system with the system now so generally adopted throughout British India, of thirty years' settlements. He had said that redemption of the land revenue must drive capital away from the land. How could it be otherwise? It would not be alleged that the cultivating proprietors have enough capital for the purpose—*i.e.*, that they have enough to meet the current necessities and to pay some twenty years' purchase of the land revenue beside. If it were so—if, indeed, they had been so prosperous under the existing system—no further argument would be needed than to let well alone.

It would not be pretended that they could borrow except on terms far more costly than the 5 per cent., or whatever might be the rate which the annual land revenue might bear to the redemption money. The capital could not be sent back to the land, even indirectly, by the State; because it would be needed to pay off debt in order to meet diminished revenue; and, indeed, the payment of public debt is the purpose proposed by Colonel Rathborne. There could be no more foolish financial procedure than to pay off the Indian debt at present, excepting with a view to borrowing on better terms; because nine-tenths of the debt are held in Europe, and to pay off the debt would simply be to send capital back to Europe; whereas, what is needed is to bring it the other way. Whatever way the money for redemption be obtained, it must, in its immediate effect, diminish the capital practically available for application to the land. Regarding the existing system of land revenue as a fiscal measure, he asked, in what good quality is it wanting? Productiveness is the first needful quality; and nobody could find fault with it as an inadequately productive source of revenue. Facility and uncostliness in collection, with the least inconvenience as to mode and time of payment, eminently characterize the land revenue under a thirty years' settlement. One of the most important characters of a good impost is that it shall not specially interfere with any particular industry. In this respect the land revenue rivals an income-tax, without the manifold evils which attend the latter. The special excellence of an income-tax is that, being levied on the common produce of all industry, it especially interferes with none. So the land revenue being levied on the common source of all industry, it equally interferes with none; whilst the land revenue is paid with less dissatisfaction than any other impost whatever, whereas an income-tax hardly rendering 10 per cent. of the land revenue has given dissatisfaction which made it intolerable. If we regard the land revenue in the light of national and traditional sentiment, it is indisputable that it is consecrated by literally immemorial custom in a country and amongst a people who, beyond all other, regard custom as divine. He (General Marriott) knew of nothing to be said in favour of redemption of the land revenue, excepting what he might call the sentimental stimulus to be given to industry by the sense of more perfectly independent proprietary tenure, which the freedom from all liability to any State impost would give. In calling it a sentimental stimulus he did not think lightly of the force of the sentiment of property; but he would invite consideration of what is involved in the supposition that such stimulus to industry makes it worth while to concede the right of redemption of the land revenue. The value of that stimulus must outweigh the immediate alienation of capital from

the land; it must outweigh the counter-consideration that thirty years must elapse before any real reduction of the charge on the land is possible, to say nothing of a probably increased charge in the meantime, if the interest of the redemption money be regarded. This is not all. No one can seriously suppose that, with the decreasing value of money, the land revenue could be fixed permanently without incurring need to adopt some other taxation as a substitute. An increase of 12 per cent. on the land revenue would be equivalent to doubling the Excise or the stamp revenue, and to very nearly doubling the whole existing Customs' revenue. Let any one who knows India compare the dissatisfaction which would attend the one and the other, and then think what ought to be the value of a measure which should outweigh this consideration. And, after all, what reason is there to expect any very greatly increased industry either from the mere sense of more independent property or from a real reduction of charge? The sense of security in a thirty years' settlement is not a slight one. It is a far more secure tenure than that under which the greater part of agriculture in England is carried on. And even as respects a real diminution of charge on the land, it by no means follows that, beyond a certain point, increased profit to industry will stimulate industry. We have, indeed, much experience of that tendency; but, perhaps, our largest experience is the other way. To what do we attribute the generally greater industry of the Northern as compared with the Southern natives of Europe, but to the greater difficulties causing greater need for, and dependence on, man's industry? He believed it to be by no means impossible that, under the more favourable existing settlements of the land revenue, any further reduction might rather diminish than stimulate the industry of cultivating proprietors. Adverting to the notion of fixing the land revenue permanently without allowing its redemption, General Marriott said that he need not add much to what he had said about redemption, because the latter involved the principle of the other. The fixing of the revenue without the power of redeeming it was free from the objection of immediately driving capital away from the land, but it was as completely unreasonable as the other. It was a gratuitous surrender of a revenue paid with less dissatisfaction, and more free from economic objection than any other. He confessed he was astonished when he thought of the names which had at different times been found to support a scheme which seemed to him to convict its proposers of disregarding alike economic science and national sentiment, and of blindly regarding one single and partial tendency, and of attributing to it consequences unwarranted by any experience. He concluded by saying that, though we cannot but expect that a nation which has so

much vitality as this one, of permanently fixing and redeeming the land revenue—a vitality derived partly from the instincts of a dominant capital-possessing race, partly from an ignorant preference for what only seems to resemble what we are used to in our own country, partly to a regard to one set of tendencies, to the exclusion of other counter-tendencies, and partly, among official men, to the attractive idea of instituting a new era of prosperity by some great financial *coup*—a notion, he repeated, which from these causes has so much vitality, will certainly receive repeated expression, and perhaps, some day, when favoured by strong prepossession or recommended by popular opinion, may again obtain possession of the minds of those who have the immediate government of India; yet we may hope that, with any prospect of giving effect to such notions, the strong sense of their unfitness will, as not long since, revive with it, and will prevent the execution of the foolishly impatient policy which would kill the goose which lays the golden eggs—a policy the folly of which is not redeemed by the most assured expectation of finding twenty golden eggs (the twenty years' purchase of the revenue) inside of her. (Applause.)

Sir CHAS. WINGFIELD said he was unfortunately unable to attend the previous discussion, but he had read the report of it in the *Journal* of the Association with great interest. It struck him that Col. Rathborne had not sufficiently distinguished between two things, which were really very different—viz., the permanence of assessment and the permanence of tenure. (Hear, hear.) He would maintain that there was the same permanence of tenure in a temporary settlement as in a permanent settlement, for although in the former there was a revision of the assessment every twenty years, the titles of the land were not again made the subject of inquiry. At the first settlement each title received thorough investigation, but at future revisions, while the assessments were reconsidered, no further inquiry into rights and titles was made. And, therefore, so long as the people paid the assessment imposed upon them under a temporary settlement, their tenure was in truth as fixed and secure as it could be under permanent settlement. As to the possibility of sales of landed property being made for arrears of revenue, the law in the permanently settled provinces of Bengal is more stringent than it has ever been in the temporarily settled provinces of Upper India. It is on official record that within twenty years after the permanent settlement, more than one-half of the land had changed hands, the original holders having been sold up for arrears of revenue. Again, it must be recollected that in a permanent settlement it is, after all, only the proprietors of land who are benefited. The tenants-at-will in Bengal and Upper India form considerably more than one-half of the entire agricultural

population. The condition of these, whether under a permanent or temporary settlement, is precisely the same. He put that question to Lord Lawrence the other day at the sitting of the Indian Finance Committee, and he answered in the affirmative. He was aware that much had been said—Colonel Rathborne was one who said it—regarding the outlay of capital on the land under Native rule. It had, for instance, been said that the great zemindars of Bengal used to spend much money in the improvements of their estates; but he had heard also, on the other hand, that they spent very little, and, on the whole, the evidence inclined him to the latter belief. The expenditure of capital on the land had been almost entirely made by Europeans, and had been ventured in the cultivation of indigo and other specialities, for which the soil of Bengal was favourable. And it should be remembered, also, in making a comparison between Bengal and the other provinces, that, permanent settlement or no permanent settlement, the money laid out in indigo plantations, tea, &c., would have been spent all the same; for the soil of Bengal was best fitted for these products, and tenure had nothing to do with it. Then, he knew a great deal had been said about the indirect effects of a permanent settlement, and that, although by it you tie your hands from increasing your revenue from land, your other sources of revenue increase; but he did not think this would turn out to be the fact on examination. He had looked into the accounts, and, taking two items as a fair test of the means of the people, he found the North-west Provinces comparing not unfavourably with Bengal. In stamps and in income-tax the returns from the two provinces—allowing for a difference of population, that of Bengal being double that of the North-west Provinces—were about the same. It was true that in the Excise Bengal contributed more, but that was because the people of Bengal were of a lower caste, and a much more drink-consuming population. The great argument against a permanent settlement, however, was that as prices are rising and the value of money is falling, the result will be that the revenues will bear no proportion to the expenditure. One of the evils of the permanent settlement of Bengal was, that in consequence of its being discovered that a frightful sacrifice had been made in Bengal, the assessment in 1833 was fixed a great deal too high in the North-west Provinces. It appeared to him that the general error into which Colonel Rathborne had fallen was that he had applied to all India the experience of one part only, and consequently his remedial measures, which might, for aught he knew, be very well suited to Bombay, to meet a state of things existing there, were not only not wanted, but were positively in force in the Bengal Presidency. For instance, Colonel Rathborne urged that the thirty years' settlements should be made on the old Hindu basis.

of a sixth share to the State, instead of a third or fourth. Well, the settlement in Upper India is made on this basis. The rent paid by the cultivator was assumed to be about one-third or two-fifths of the gross produce of the soil where it was paid in kind, and where paid in money possibly a little less. The Government took half of this—that is, about one-sixth of the produce. He did not mean to say that a sixth might not be too much, he only cited it as showing what was the rule. The fact was that the Government did not inquire closely into the produce; they judged by the rental paid to the proprietor, and the relations of the Government in the Bengal Presidency are with the proprietor, not with the cultivating occupant. And whether they were making the settlement with the peasant proprietor or the great zemindar or talookdar, they proceeded exactly on the same principle of taking the rental of the land, not the produce, as the basis of this demand. Colonel Rathborne, too, appeared to think that the Native rulers who preceded us did a great deal in the way of improving the lands; but he could see very little warrant for this assumption, further than the creation of costly tombs, which could hardly be said to do much to promote cultivation, and here and there a bridge. Further than this, there appeared to be generally no provision for works of improvement, except perhaps one or two small canals. Let any one read the official reports on the state of the country early in the present century and in the latter part of the last, which are published with the Fifth Report of the Committee, House of Commons, of 1812, and it would be seen to what a degree of poverty, misery, and despoliation along course of tyranny and misrule had reduced the country both in Bengal and Madras before the commencement of British rule. In the Madras Presidency General Wilks writes that property in land had almost entirely disappeared, and the proprietors had sunk to the condition of labourers; and hence Sir Thomas Munro wrote that there was no such thing as private property in land in India, because all the rental of land, and more than all, had been taken by the State. Colonel Rathborne, too, contended that the assessment should not be made by the acre, but on the holding, as with farms on lease in Scotland and in England, or by the village; and he seemed to imagine that this principle was not in force in India. But this was no novelty, for the assessments in Upper India were always made upon the village, and not upon the acre. Colonel Rathborne further urged that the distinction made in the assessment of land under sugar-cane and other expensive kinds of produce, and land under cereals, should be wholly abolished. To carry out this principle would be to make no difference between good and bad land; for the fact that the soil grows sugar or opium, or tobacco, is decisive that it is superior land, and to say that it ought not to be assessed except as

ordinary land, would be to give a most unfair advantage to such villages, and would excite great discontent. To speak of "grain-growing" land, too, was a very loose mode of expression, because a soil which would grow wheat was worth three times as much as that which would only produce pulse or other inferior grain. To assess all, on the value of the better kind of grain, would be inequitable; and on that of the inferior, would be an absurd waste of revenue. Colonel Rathborne's suggestion that the distinction between irrigated and dry crops should be similarly done away with, had been well met by the objection raised by Mr. Sabapathi Iyah, who said the result would be a desertion of the "dry" lands and a crowding of the population on to the wet lands. Nor could much more be said in favour of Colonel Rathborne's proposition that the proprietor or immediate occupant under Government should be entitled to all the minerals under it, on payment of a royalty of one-tenth to the Government. For it was idle to expect any development of the mineral resources of India by the Natives themselves; they had never attempted it. Whatever efforts had been made in this direction were made by the Government or Europeans; and it would be exceedingly inconvenient in a country like Upper India, where the holdings of each peasant proprietor hardly average ten acres each, that they should individually have the power to stop the working of any mineral deposit on their land. Colonel Rathborne's requirement, that riparian owners should be free to take the fish of lakes and rivers, and the wild fowl frequenting them, without being interfered with by the servants of the Government, was not necessary, at least for Upper India, for the Government never did interfere in this matter. The provision was made by Colonel Rathborne, "that at the periodical season of the assessment every improvement of a permanent character which has been made by the proprietor occupant should be noted, and that no additional rent should be charged in respect of any increase of rental value to the holding arising out of such improvement." Of course, it was quite right that you should deal very leniently in your assessments in regard to increase derived from any outlay by the proprietor of the land; but, at the same time, he could not go to the length of saying that the Government were never to derive any increased revenue from the result of improvements effected by the proprietor; for that would be equivalent to saying that the Government were never to derive any benefit from the increased productiveness of the soil, and would be incurring most of the inconvenience of permanent settlement. Lastly, Colonel Rathborne proposed that all persons holding land direct from the Government, and subject to Government assessment, should be entitled, on application to the collector, to redeem in perpetuity the rent payable under such assessment, and con-

vert their holding into one of freehold tenure, on the terms of paying the capitalized value of the rent. You might sanction the redemption of the land revenue ; but, in his opinion, it would be perfectly inoperative, because money brings 14 per cent. or 15 per cent. in India ; and to borrow money at 15 per cent. to save perhaps 5 per cent., would not be a successful operation. And, even if it were possible, he would be sorry to see the Government thus come into possession of large sums, which would, he feared, lead to a lavish and wasteful expenditure on public works of more than doubtful utility or general extravagance. He did not wish it to be understood from his remarks that he would screw more money out of the land, or press on the proprietors of the land unduly. On the contrary, he would be glad to see the Government take less than 50 per cent. of the rental, for the present system did not, at best, leave the proprietor more than 35 per cent. of the rental, if the local cesses, which come out of the proprietors' half, are taken into consideration. Hence he thought a reduction of the land-tax would be very desirable, although at present it could not fairly be said that the assessments of the land in the Bengal Presidency are oppressively felt. In conclusion, Sir Charles Wingfield remarked that, while recognizing the ability shown in Colonel Rathborne's paper, he hoped it would not be sent out to India for opinion as being applicable to the whole country, because that would be placing the Association in a false position. He had shown that the recommendations did not apply to Upper India, and though they might possibly apply to some other parts of India, it would be essential, before asking Native opinion on them, that Colonel Rathborne should define the scope and limitation of his remedial scheme.

Mr. P. P. Gordon said he agreed with the reduction of the argument into two bases, as stated by General Marriott, but he differed altogether from the conclusions of the gallant speaker. One speaker had stated truly enough that India is a poor country, and another had referred to another fact—viz., that 12 per cent. was the common rate of interest for advances on land. Now these two facts, he held, in a practical point of view, proved distinctly that the present tenure of land in India is, generally, not what it ought to be. (Hear, hear.) If India, with its resources and with the knowledge which his acquaintance with the Natives justified him in assuming they possess, is in a position indicated by those two facts—and they are undeniable—there must be something radically wrong, or else India would be a richer country than it is at the present moment. A previous speaker had stated that there were 60 per cent. of the population dependent upon agriculture in India, but he believed that 85 per cent., or even 90 per cent., would be nearer the real state of the case,—leaving only 10 per cent. solely dependent upon commerce and manufac-

tures. The banking interest in India depended almost entirely upon the land, and it is because of the unstable tenure of land that the Native bankers are able to charge 1 per cent. per month for advances to the cultivators of the soil. Hence came about the spectacle that England—with money in such abundance that the difficulty was to find means to employ it, and where money-lenders upon landed property are content with from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—was unable to advance the capital necessary to the advancement of the prosperity of India. If they would do justice to India, they should make the tenure of land as stable in the one country as in the other, and then it would offer as good a security, and the bankers of Lombard-street would advance money as readily to the large Native land-owners and cultivators in India for the development and improvement of their estates, as to the Duke of Buccleuch in Scotland or the Marquis of Westminster in England. But so long as the tenure of land is insecure (as in most cases it is, requiring rigid investigation before advances can safely be made on it), India must remain a poor country, and just so long will it be apparent that there is something radically wrong in the British administration of affairs in India. With regard to one point to which General Marriott principally directed his attention—the redemption of the land-tax—he felt it to be a comparatively secondary question, for he did not anticipate that any appreciable amount of the land would be redeemed until the capitalists of England would come forward and lend their money at 4 or 5 per cent. When that was done the land-tax would be redeemed fast enough; and so soon as the Native cultivator feels that he can borrow money on his land on easy terms, he will do so. Nothing is more certain than that the improvement in the condition of the agricultural interest of England and Scotland was due to the employment of nearly ten times the capital which was expended some fifty years ago on a farm, and considered ample for its cultivation; and the more money which a tenant on lease laid out in the first years of his tenancy, the more certain would he be of a handsome return for it in the later years. It was to fixity of tenure they should look in India. So long as the ryots are simply tenants-at-will, they will not improve their holdings. Upon a twelve-months' lease it would be throwing money into the proprietors' pockets. The large proprietors in India wished—he knew they wished, because he had been applied to by them—for large sums of money to improve their estates, to provide irrigation, and generally to advance the interests of agriculture. But the difficulty in the way was, that the tenure was not, in most instances, of a kind upon which English capitalists could venture to send out money, even though they were offered double the interest which could be obtained in England. They had an instance nearer home, by which they could judge of the effect of a reform in this

respect—viz., in Ireland. At one time that country was in very much the same condition as India is now. The proprietors were impoverished and wasteful, and they squeezed their tenants to the last farthing, living extravagantly meanwhile, in pretty much the same way as the zemindars of India were wont to do. But since titles had been made good, and since the proprietors of Ireland could give *bond fide* leases for a certain length of time, a great change had taken place, and a similar operation would produce similar results in India; and India will then go ahead as it ought to do. The people of India are not naturally devoid of enterprise, and with proper opportunity they can show the energy of Englishmen; but it is not to be expected that they will ignore the present uncertainty of their tenure. As an instance, he would refer to the manner in which enterprise was checked in respect of the coffee plantations in the Neilgherry Hills. If you bought land from the Government at an upset price, the Government state that if the land is fit for the cultivation of coffee you must immediately pay an annual tax of two rupees, and time is not allowed to ascertain whether the land is really fitted for coffee cultivation, nor to bring it into full bearing, before the tax must be paid. The consequence of this vexatious interposition was that enterprise was checked, and a most important interest altogether crippled. Government, however, found out their mistake twelve months ago, and the coffee-planters have been told that the tax will be remitted for three years. That was all very well—it was to some extent a recompense; but the cessation of the tax for three years would not induce people to come forward, when they knew that after that period they would be as badly off as ever,—in fact, no man in his senses would embark in such a venture until he knew what his ultimate liabilities would be. He would repeat his conviction, that if it was desired to see India prosper like the other parts of the British Empire, they must give her equal facilities; and whatever was charged should be a fixed charge, so that one might know what to expect when money was expended. Titles should be rendered secure and simple, and then they would find that capitalists would freely advance money for improvements and extensions, and they would cease to see the Government seize and take the management of property worth a hundred times the amount of tax which the owner had failed to pay.

The CHAIRMAN said that before he addressed himself to the subject under consideration, he would venture to correct one or two misconceptions he had noticed in the course of the debate. Firstly, with regard to the old Hindu land-tax. This was not, as it had been assumed to be, an uniform assessment of one-sixth; it was only a sixth on the best soils, but half that amount on poor soils. It was, in fact, a graduated income-tax—

viz., a sixth, an eighth, or a twelfth of the produce ; that is, 17 per cent., 12 per cent., or 8 per cent., " according to the nature of the soil and the " labour required to cultivate it." Secondly, Sir Charles Wingfield had said that everybody admitted that the possibility of a considerable rise in prices was an irresistible argument against permanently fixing the assessment. He (the Chairman) admitted nothing of the sort. It was perfectly easy to fix the assessment without any loss to Government from a rise of prices. [Sir Charles Wingfield here expressed dissent.] The Chairman said he insisted upon it ; if the tax was fixed on the principle of a corn rent, it would involve no loss to the Government or trouble to the taxpayer. He would give them at once an analogous case, to show how the plan worked at their own doors. When the Tithe Commutation Act was passed in this country, the tithes were calculated on the average price of corn for the preceding seven years, and had been so calculated ever since. Well, suppose a man had, as he had, to pay a number of tithes every year, in many cases on patches of land involving computations to the fraction of a penny ; of course, if he had to make those calculations himself, it would give him a great deal of trouble ; but here was a little pamphlet (showing the *Tithe Commutation Table*), published every year on authority, giving in four pages all the calculations, from one penny up to thousands of pounds ; so that he had merely to copy out and add up the amounts in this table, and his computation of many items, making about 150*l.*, was done in a few minutes. He would now turn to the main question in debate, whether the land revenue of India could be settled on a more satisfactory basis ; and he would observe, that for nearly a quarter of a century he had held a strong opinion on the subject, which was, that the claims of the Government to the rent of land, instead of to a tax on it, was not only a mere usurpation, but most mischievous to the Government and the people. In the work he published on our Indian Administration, twenty years ago,* which was successful enough at the time to enable him to found the Indian Reform Society, he had distinctly defined the difference between tax and rent, and he begged to be allowed to read the passage to them : " The fact " is, that *tax* and *rent* are two things, different in their nature, and acted " upon inversely by given circumstances ; for instance, *rent*, or the annual " premium paid for the use of land, increases per head with the increase " of the population ; *tax*, or the annual contribution to the expenses of " the State, as a rule, diminishes per head with the increase of popula- " tion ; and in this way the taxes of England have been very much " lightened per head in the last half-century." However, before he left this part of the subject, he would like to give them some further illus-

* " India under a Bureaucracy."

tration of the difference between these items, so as to fix in the minds of those present, he hoped, a distinct idea of the difference between such sources of income as tax and rent. Every one knew, generally, that the increase of our wealth and population had caused a rise in our rents. But in the case of agricultural rents, it was difficult to estimate it fully, because, since the repeal of the corn laws, we were really creating and raising the rent on millions of acres in Russia, America, &c., and paying for our additional food in a way mutually profitable to both parties—that is, by manufactures. But in cities and their suburbs, we could all see, and most of us felt, the rise of rent. For instance, the Civil Service organ had been telling us lately that the rise in rents was one of their griefs; that rents had risen 25 per cent. in Kensington and Chelsea, 100 per cent. in Knightsbridge, as much in the East of London; that land had fetched nearly 40*l.* per square foot in the City, &c. Now, he would give them a few details of that increase of wealth and population which had caused this rise of rents; and then show its simultaneous effect on taxation. He would take his facts from authorities available to all present, and mainly from the “Statesman’s Year Book.” The increase of population in the United Kingdom between the years 1861 and 1871, the last year ascertainable, was 2,899,026. The increase in exports and imports from the year 1832 to 1872 was 222,705,070*l.* The increase in railway traffic receipts from the year 1862 to 1871 was, in round numbers, from 29,000,000*l.* to 49,000,000*l.* Mr. Gladstone, speaking the other night at the Literary Fund dinner, made some startling assertions as to the extraordinary increase in the wealth of this country of late years, and he might cite several instances, but he would only add one more—namely, the remarkable yield of the income-tax. When Sir Robert Peel imposed that tax in 1842, he had no idea it would indicate so much wealth in the country, and he was quite surprised next year at finding it yield above 700,000*l.*—he thought the exact amount was 711,000*l.*—per penny. It now yields about 1,500,000*l.* per penny. Now, with this progressive increase of wealth and population, of which they had seen the effect on rents, let them see what was the effect on taxation. From the year 1862 to the year 1872, on the balance of taxes imposed and taken off, 27,066,038*l.* of taxation were repealed, in consequence of the increased yield from increased wealth; and while our national expenditure in 1862 was 71,116,485*l.*—averaging 2*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*, say in round numbers 2*l.* 10*s.* per head—in 1872 our expenditure was 71,490,020*l.*, averaging 2.5*l.* per head, or one-fifth less than before; showing the truth of his proposition, in 1853, that tax and rent are two things different in their very nature, and acted upon inversely by the same circumstances. After that, he hoped at least none of those present

would ever again talk loosely of land-tax or land rent, as if they were correlative terms in India. No one would dream of making such a mistake in this country; but it really seemed to him as if people took leave of their senses when they came to talk of India. (Mr. Prichard: "Hear, hear.") In the case of India, they set at defiance first principles, which were regarded as axioms in reasoning about any other civilized country. For instance, he found the Indian Finance Committee, comprising several old Indians and others who had a reputation as political economists, habitually speaking of the Indian Government in the loose phraseology he had described, as being "the supreme landlord," "the universal landlord," as if the Government were the sole proprietor of land in India.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD: I never did so. (A laugh, and "Hear, hear.")

The CHAIRMAN: Well, the majority of the Committee do so. As a specimen of it, he had here extracted two questions by a gentleman who has a reputation as an economist—namely, Mr. J. B. Smith—which he begged leave to read to the meeting:—

"Question 8,990.—Is it not the fact that the land ought to belong to the people of India, and not to any individuals; that the Government are merely the trustees for the people, for the purpose of paying the expenses of the governed; and that, therefore, it is for the benefit of the people that they hold it?"

"Question 8,991.—Under the circumstances, do not you think that, if they have a proper regard for the people, it is their duty to make the most they can of that land?"

That is a sample of the information of the Indian Finance Committee! And there was in a leading article of the *Times*, on the 30th of May, last, such a perfect specimen of the opinion of average Englishmen on this subject, that he begged leave to read them an extract from that article:—

"Civil administration, in almost all its branches, must, if we are to do our duty to the people of India, become more and more costly year after year. That is its tendency at the present moment; and yet the people cannot easily be taxed for the benefits they receive. Our chief source of income is the land revenue, or the rent which is paid to the Sovereign as the universal landlord. But in dealing with its millions of tenants, the Indian Government has made such long settlements, or, in other words, granted such long leases, and on terms so favourable to the lessees, that we are debarred from what might be regarded as the landlord's fair share of advancing profits. There is no other tax but that on salt which touches the masses of the people. Stamps, it is

"true; produce a considerable and an increasing amount of revenue," &c. Now, before he answered the *Times*' fallacy about rent, he would just say a word about the items of salt and stamps. If any one present doubted about the character of taxes on justice, he would recommend him to read again what Mill said about them in the sixth chapter of the sixth book of his "*History of India*;" where he denounces the principle of punishing by a fine the injured and innocent man who appeals to the law for redress. But what he would most recommend to them as the clearest demonstration of the unjust and cruel character of Indian stamp duties was a minute by Mr. John Bruce Norton in 1868, which ought to be, if it was not already, in the archives of their Association. With regard to the salt duties, as he had himself written some exhaustive articles on the subject, when formerly editing a paper in the interest of Indian reform,* which he would lay on the table, he felt justified in saying that he had proved them to be extremely oppressive and injurious to the cultivators of India. Now, with reference to the fallacies of the *Times* about the rent of land in India, as Mr. Noble Taylor had told them the other day that the Home Government consulted him when the question of a permanent settlement of the land-tax was under consideration in 1862, he would mention that the Government also consulted him on that occasion. After discussing the subject personally with the Secretary of State for India, he sent, by his desire, a written memorandum of his views, dated June 2, 1862, to which Sir Charles Wood replied, in the course of the week, that the Council had that day adopted the policy he recommended. As his views were still the same, he had brought that memorandum with him that day, and begged leave to read to the meeting the substance, at least, of the arguments he had used to Sir Charles Wood in 1862. Firstly, though he was afraid the statement would displease some of his friends there that day, he advised the Secretary of State not to sanction the redemption of the land-tax, observing that he had been repeatedly asked by Native friends to advocate that measure, and had refused to do so, on the ground that their object, which was to get rid of the oppression and extortion of subordinate officials, might be attained by that permanent settlement, which he did advocate to the utmost of his powers. Secondly, he urged that, although, as a rule, the amount of any tax should depend on the requirements of Government, which vary from year to year, the land-tax was an exception to the rule, and a necessity for permanently settling it had been caused by the erroneous theory we had started in India, that the

* Vide *The Indian News*, of dates April 2nd and 17th, 1855, pp. 136, 160.

land-tax, was not a tax, but a property—viz., the rent of land. He frankly confessed that a part of the horror he felt for this theory arose from his dread of its coming home to plague its inventors in England. Having some interest in land himself, he viewed with unfeigned alarm the dissemination of a Socialist doctrine, which involves the confiscation of private estates, in the name of an abstract “public,” but in reality for the benefit of the Government for the time being. With the exception of a few barbarous Mahomedan texts quoted by civilized Englishmen to justify excessive taxation, often in the same breath with which they denounce the tyranny of their Mahomedan predecessors, there is not a single ground for this rent-theory of the land-tax in India which does not exist in England, and which might not be appealed to by our Communists at home to justify their seizure of the rent of land in this country. We have counterparts of this theory and practice in India in our legal maxim, that “all land is holden of the Crown,” and in the feudal tenures of our ancestors. And it would be useless to argue that land had been private property in England for centuries, when it could be answered that we had set aside the same fact without scruple in India, in spite of the involuntary and reiterated admissions of our own settlement officers, and in spite of the clearest evidence given by Elphinstone, Wilson, Duff, Sykes, and especially by General Briggs, that private property in land had been respected even by Mahomedans, and had literally never been disputed before our time; so that the Rajpoot proverb was universally true—“The land is mine, the tax is the king’s.” [Omitting some arguments in the memorandum, the Chairman quoted as follows:] “Independently of the danger of “preparing a rod for our own backs, the effects of this vast and vague “claim of the Government to the real property of the country have “been so fearful in India, that they have left a distrust in the hearts “of the people which nothing can cure but a permanent settlement. “The earliest attempts of the Government to carry out its theory, and “realize the rent of land, literally beggared the agricultural population “by millions in Madras, Bombay, and the North-west; and even when “the Government reduced its assessments, as it did not renounce its “theory, there remained a disposition in its officers to confiscate property in land, of which, among numberless proofs, he would only cite “one—viz., the pamphlet published by Mr. Smollett, M.P., in 1858; “and this disposition must remain as long as the theory remains. The “unspeakable difference between the Native and the English Government was this: The Native Government said to the people collectively, ‘We demand a tax of so much per cent. on your incomes.’ “The English Government says, not to the people collectively, but to “every individual separately, ‘We, as the supreme and irresistible.

“ ‘landlord, demand your *rent*—viz., whatever amount you can afford to
 “ ‘pay, which we shall decide for you.’ How can there be anything
 “ like an English or Scotch lease under such a system as this, which
 “ allows no free option to one of the contracting parties?” Here he
 would ask, how is the system working now? He had been informed
 from various quarters, and on good authority, that the Government had
 been lately resettling its so-called “leases,” at advances of from above
 20 to above 200 per cent. in some cases, on the ground of its construc-
 tion of railways, or of a rise in prices, which was fast subsiding; and he
 had already cited Mr. Dyke’s evidence, that the cultivator forfeits his title
 by one year’s non-payment of this arbitrary assessment. Practically, the
 Government’s “rent” theory had destroyed confidence in the security
 of real property, which should be the best of securities, and had pre-
 vented the investment of capital in the development of the resources of
 the country, which is the great want of India. Not even four or five
 times the usual rate of interest would tempt British capitalists to invest
 in British India. Thus the dreamers who looked to the rent of land to
 pay the expenses of Government, forgetting that it does not now pay
 nearly half of them, kept the land revenue almost stationary by their
 theory, and checked the main source of national wealth at its fountain-
 head. “The French have a sort of fanatical faith in their *richesses du*
sol, which they justify by appealing to the wonderful recovery and
 “ sudden wealth of the country, after such epochs as the wars of the
 “ fifteenth century and the Great Revolution. But France never had
 “ such a capacity for development as we have now to deal with in India.
 “ It is not merely that the soil may be made to produce from three to
 “ five times as much by better culture and irrigation, but the labourer is
 “ made to produce three or four times as much by better wages. The
 “ same feeble creatures who were of no more use than children on a few
 “ pice a-day, are turned into strong and willing workmen by twopence
 “ or threepence a-day; they are not to be recognized as the same
 “ people. The transformation of the geranium of the hedge into the
 “ geranium of the garden is not more wonderful and almost incredible
 “ than the change from an unimproved to an improved district in India.
 “ However, it has been said for thirty or forty years by the ‘rent
 “ ‘school’ of theorists, ‘If this increase of agricultural income be pos-
 “ ‘sible, why give it away?’ Give it away! Such is the confusion of
 “ ideas produced by a wrong theory. The Government cannot give
 “ away an increase which is not yet created, and which the Government
 “ cannot create, though it can prevent its creation by claiming it in
 “ advance. It can only be created by Government allowing the people
 “ to use their land and labour freely for their own interests; and the
 “ question should rather be, ‘How could we ever think of interfering

“ ‘with those rights of property which are the incentives to industry, and the reward of it, in every civilized country?’ The prospective increase of agricultural income depends upon the people feeling secure that they will be permitted to enjoy it. They will not create wealth, if the Government promises to appropriate it when created; though they would bring much more land into cultivation if they knew it was only liable to a fixed and moderate income-tax. But it is also said, ‘Why limit this tax, when the Civil Service expenditure of the Government must increase?’ Because, while there are the exceptional reasons above mentioned for limiting this one tax, we know from precedent in India, as well as from analogy in England, that the limitation of the land-tax does not prevent the increase of the general yield of taxation, but just the reverse.” He would just mention here the facts about the Indian revenue since he wrote that memorandum. In the year 1862, the income of India was 43,829,472*l.*; in the year 1872, it was 51,413,685*l.*; showing an increase in those ten years of 7,584,213*l.*; while the increase in the land-tax during the same period was only 1,000,000*l.* And yet they were told by mere theorists that the land-tax was almost the sole resource of the Indian Government for meeting an increase in its expenses. And he must remark here, that the Indian Government had another resource, which rendered it entirely its own fault if it ever was in want of money. It had been proved, above twenty years ago, by the report of the Madras Public Works Commissioners, that the profits of irrigation works were enormous in India, and likely to average 100 per cent. for the future, besides preventing the loss by famines; yet the Government had only given the benefit of these profitable works, as yet, to a mere fraction of the country. As he had said in a speech at the Institution of Civil Engineers, in 1868, which he would lay on the table: “Why was it that, out of 509,000,000”—or, as Colonel Rathborne said, 517,000,000—“acres in British India, of which at least 250,000,000 were susceptible of irrigation, not one-fiftieth part, not 9,000,000 acres, were yet even in a course of being supplied with these works? Why was it that, when it had been computed by experienced engineers that 150,000,000 acres might be supplied with irrigation and navigation as easily as the deltas that had been taken in hand, and half that quantity, or 75,000,000 acres, would yield profits equal to the net revenue of India, less the opium duty, which was paid by China; still, the Government had not constructed the works?” The truth was, that the only obstacle to the Government and the people of India getting rich was the superstitious faith of old collectors in the land-tax, and the paramount influence of these collectors in the Indian Government. But, to return to the memorandum [he

continued]: "The State income is now, in India, so far in excess of the "legitimate expenditure, that the Government has a surplus of about "six millions a-year to spend on public works, including railway-interest;"—(such an expenditure being quite unjustifiable; it is unheard of anywhere else for a Government to spend millions out of income, for works mainly useful to posterity. Government takes the people's capital, which is worth to them from 12 to 18 per cent., when it might borrow for such works at 4 per cent.) "However, "besides this surplus, the increased yield of taxes, other than the "land-tax, is now going on in India faster than the increased expenditure on the Civil Service; and remembering the remark of a Native "gentleman, before quoted, that 'Nobody ever heard of the Government of a rich people being a poor Government,' we may safely "leave future Governments of India to take care of themselves, with "the conviction that not only is there no danger of their not raising "additional taxation hereafter, if required, when the people are richer "and better able to bear it; but there is very little chance of their not "raising as much as the people will bear, whether required or not, if "they are like other civilized Governments. With regard to the two "remaining objections to a permanent settlement, he would only observe "that the possible depreciation of the precious metals could not affect a "tax settled on the principle of '*corn rents*;' and that the injurious consequences of the permanent settlement in Lower Bengal to petty "land-owners, would not affect the ryots of other provinces, who are protected by accurate surveys and official records of rights. But, while "he had endeavoured to point out the social advantages to the people "and the Government of a permanent settlement of the land-tax, he "should not do justice to the argument if he failed to notice a political "aspect of the question. There have been many invasions and rebellions in India; suppose there came another? It certainly would be no "slight advantage, then, to have all the principal land-owners come forward by thousands to address the Government, proclaiming their trust in "its justice, capacity, and wisdom, and their utmost confidence in its measures. It would be no slight advantage for the English Viceroy to "be able to say, in answer to such an address: 'The Governor-General "in Council sees amongst the numerous signatures to that address the "names of men of ancient lineage, of vast possessions, and of great "wealth; of men of cultivated intelligence, who have been foremost "in measures of beneficence, in the encouragement of education and "works of material public improvement; men whose influence with "their fellow-countrymen is deservedly great, and whose interest in "the peace and well-being of India it would be difficult to exaggerate.

“ ‘No person will hold cheaply the opinion of such a body, and the
 “ ‘possession of its confidence and good-will would be a source of
 “ ‘strength to any Government. Therefore, the Governor-General in
 “ ‘Council desires me (the Secretary to the Government of India), in
 “ ‘thanking you for your address, to add emphatically that he receives
 “ ‘it with much satisfaction.’ And such *was* the answer of Lord
 “ ‘Canning, at a great crisis in our history, on the 17th of December,
 “ ‘1857, to between 5,000 and 6,000 of the zemindars of Lower Bengal.”
 He had thus stated to them the substance of the argument he submitted
 to the Home Government in 1862; and he would not add to it at the
 present moment, as he believed that other gentlemen wished to address
 the meeting.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI said he would venture to urge that there was
 a preliminary question in that matter which should take precedence of
 all other considerations, and it was one to which Colonel Rathborne had
 referred in quoting from his (the speaker's) address on “The Commerce
 of India,” read before the Society of Arts on the 15th February, 1871,
 that while the exports of the produce of the United Kingdom were nearly
 6*l.* 10*s.* per head of the population, those of British North America
 about 3*l.* per head, and those of Australia 19*l.* per head, including its gold
 exports, or 11*l.* per head, excluding them,—those of India were scarcely 4*s.*
 per head, excluding political and non-commercial remittances to this
 country, or 5*s.* a-head, including them. When these and other facts of
 the very poor production of the country, of only 40*s.* a-head, were re-
 membered, there was little wonder that India was, and continued to be,
 a poor country. The preliminary question suggested by this was, how
 is it that under British rule there was such poverty—how is it that, after
 one hundred years of British government, it had come to be admitted that
 India was wretchedly impoverished—so much so, that Lord Lawrence,
 the other day, said that it was a continual struggle for the ryot to pro-
 vide the barest necessaries for himself and family? Philosophical
 theories were very well, but they must sink in importance in view of such
 a fact as this; and attention must first be given to an inquiry into the
 causes of the exceptional condition of affairs in India. In the United
 Kingdom, in Canada, in Australia, and in other colonies it was naturally
 expected, and is actually the case, that for an export of, say, 100*l.*, a fair
 per-centage of profit would be gained; but no such result was vouch-
 safed to unfortunate India, but very much the reverse. The consolation
 offered to India was, that its commerce had largely increased; but of what
 use was that increase if it consisted to a large extent of compulsory ex-
 ports for remittances to England? It would be no good to a man if,
 though he had a business involving transactions of millions in a year, in

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD said the discussion had been already so prolonged that he would not occupy the time of the meeting with a speech, but he would like to read to the meeting a letter from a land-holder in the Upper Provinces of India, which contained some useful information of a highly practical character as to the actual working of the existing revenue system of India. Information of this sort was useful, because it showed what was too often lost sight of—though, indeed, the Chairman (Mr. John Dickinson) had alluded to it—that there were in effect many other charges upon the land besides the Government revenue or tax, by whatever name it might be called. He would read the letter as it stood, and no apology was needed for some little grammatical and idiomatic defects made by the writer, for it had been written in Oordoo by one Native of India, himself a large land-owner, and translated by another gentleman, also a Native of India, but conversant with the English language. “Suppose,” said the writer, “there are 1,000 acres of land in one village. As all lands cultivable are taxed according to the value of what they produce, suppose “(this supposition does not differ, upon an average, from fact)—

"200	acres at the rate of Rs.3	Rs.600
"200	" 2	400
"200	" 1	200
"100	" Aus.8	50

“700 acres. Total Rs.1,250

“ Thus, what a village of 1,000 acres can really produce is Rs.1,250.
 “ The remaining 300 acres of land are waste land, that cannot produce
 “ anything. This waste land is divided into two kinds. In the first
 “ kind suppose there are 100 acres, containing tanks, groves, waste, and
 “ population land. The rent on this 100 acres is at the rate of R.1 an
 “ acre, making altogether Rs.100. In the second kind there are 200
 “ acres, containing saline lands, caves, large holes, ravines, &c. The
 “ rent on this 200 acres is at the rate of Ans.8 an acre, making
 “ altogether Rs.100. These Rs.200 are added on to the Rs.1,250, which
 “ are the real produce of the village. Thus, although a village, in point
 “ of fact, produces only Rs.1,250, it is made to pay Rs.1,450. Out of
 “ this Rs.1,450 the Government revenue is one-half, Rs.725, leaving the
 “ other half, Rs.725, for the zemindar. Out of this share of Rs.725 the
 “ zemindar has to disburse the following expenses :—

“ For putwari, Rs.3 Ans.2 per cent. upon the whole supposed	
“ produce of Rs.1,450	Rs.45 8
“ Roads, dispensaries, schools, 3 per cent. upon Rs.725, of	
“ zemindar’s share	21 12
	<hr/>
	Rs.67 4

“ Now, the zemindar has only got left to him Rs.657 Ans.12. Out of
 “ this deduct those Rs.200 which were put in cess for 200 acres of waste
 “ land, as mentioned above. Thus the zemindar has got now left to him
 “ Rs.457 Ans.12. Out of this sum of Rs.457 Ans.12 the zemindar has
 “ to defray other expenses without which he cannot do. They are as
 “ follows :—

“ The pay of the man who collects revenue, at the rate of, at	
“ least, Rs.4 a-month, for 12 months	Rs.48
“ The expenses peculiar to a village—for example, <i>Beláhar</i> , <i>Begárl</i> , “ <i>Choupal</i> , expenses; travellers stopping in a village; <i>telbana</i> , “ <i>Hóli</i> , <i>dewdli</i> , <i>doshara</i> , <i>alms</i> , <i>chaprasis</i> , at least	40
	<hr/>
	Rs.88”

There were [Mr. Prichard said] several gentlemen present—officials and ex-officials, and land-owners in the North-west Provinces—who would be able to check these items, and, if they were inaccurate, point out the inaccuracy. [Several of those present intimated that they were quite correct. Mr. Prichard continued:]

“ On deducting this sum of Rs.88 from Rs.457 Ans.12, we find now
 “ only Rs.369 Ans.12 left for the zemindar. After the crop is pre-
 “ pared, which is supposed to raise a value of Rs.1,250 (we have ex-
 “ plained above that the produce of a village of 1,000 acres is only

“Rs.1,250), the zemindar has to pay a municipal duty of 2 per cent. “at the sale of the grain, and has, consequently, to give Rs.25 (the duty “on Rs.1,250) from his own share. Deduct this Rs.25 from what was “last left for the zemindar—viz., Rs.369 Ans.12—and you find him, “according to the theory of the settlement, in possession of Rs.344 “Ans.12. I say ‘according to the theory,’ for in point of fact the “zemindar can never succeed, like the Government, in obtaining the “whole money to the last farthing. There are several other items to be “taken into account, which necessarily decrease the total.” [Mr. Prichard dwelt upon the importance of this fact. The charges he had read out left the zemindar in possession of only Rs.344 Ans.12, but the meeting would remember that there was thus no margin left for the thousand and one accidents that an agriculturist must be able to provide against if he would cultivate at a profit. Mr. Prichard continued:] “What is most objectionable to the tenants is, that the revenue money is taken by the Government in the months of May and “November—i.e., in each case before the crop is ready; and thus a tenant “is compelled to borrow money under very unfavourable conditions, and “suffers a great deal. If the revenue was not taken until a fortnight “later, the crop would be ready, and the tenant would have no occasion “to borrow money on a high per-centage.” Here, then (Mr. Prichard remarked), they had practical evidence of the working of the land revenue system of India, which was worth a vast amount of theoretical discussion, and he thought it hardly needed comment. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel RATHBORNE, in replying categorically to the objections which had been raised to his propositions, observed that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji might be right in assuming India to be a country with many poor people in it—and, unfortunately, the same remark would apply to the undeniably prosperous countries of the earth—but it would hardly be contended that India had not made important strides in material wealth, and the evidences of the increase of luxury and splendour were numerous. As regards Sir Charles Wingfield’s objections, that the evils alluded to did not exist in the North-west Provinces, this might be quite true, but it would not invalidate the general argument, though it would go to sustain the statement that the North-west Provinces were the best administered in India, and afforded an example to the other provinces. In urging that his proposals should be put in operation, he did not for a moment suppose that the effect would be immediate and complete,—it would, of course, be a gradual process. It by no means necessitated the ruinous financial operation of borrowing money at 12 per cent. to redeem the land-tax, because there were always rich Natives who, like rich Englishmen, would develop a love of landed property, if no unreasonable

restrictions were placed on its purchase. As regards the objection that it would not do to equalize the charges on sugar lands with those on grass lands, they appeared to be based on the supposition that the lands were different in kind, which—so far, at any rate, as Scinde was concerned—was not the fact. Lands identical in quality, and situated in immediate proximity to each other, were to be seen growing either sugar, or grain, or pulse,—it was purely a matter of irrigation and cultivation. Why, then, should the Government put an increased impost on the man who invested his money in the cultivation of sugar? Should not a Government, on the contrary, do all in its power to encourage the enterprise? Freehold tenure was to be seen in successful operation all over the world; and wherever—as in Germany, for instance—it had replaced a more primitive system, the results had been entirely satisfactory. Human nature was much the same all over the world, and what had been successful elsewhere, there was no reason to fear would fail in India. *En passant*, he remarked that it was quite a fallacy to suppose that the old Indian land grants differed from those customary in the feudal times in England; they were, in fact, extraordinarily identical in spirit and word. The objection raised by Mr. Sabapathi Iyah, that an equalization of the taxation of “wet” and “dry” lands would result in the abandonment of the latter and the cultivation of the former, might seem effective to those who did not know that this was the very thing wanted in India. Over and over again had he seen cultivators laboriously winning an existence on poor, unfruitful land, when rich and fertile land was in immediate proximity, and easily attainable. But the objection these men always made when asked to go to land which would better bear cultivation was, that the rich land had a far heavier tax upon it, and they did not like to increase their risk. An odd argument had been used by General Marriott in the statement that, speaking generally of mankind, the greater the facilities afforded for gaining the necessaries of life, the less likely a population was to be industrious and enterprising; and having this conviction, it was not surprising that the gallant speaker admired the present state of the Indian land question, for certainly nothing could be more likely to prevent the Natives from getting their livelihood with ease, so as to reduce their industrious habits! (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Probably General Marriott spoke as an official of the Government, and his opinions might be considered authoritative on this point. In this case it would be natural to imply that if the Natives were to urge a reduction of official salaries, with a view of beneficially affecting the habits of the officers, General Marriott would give the proposal his hearty support and co-operation! (Laughter.) He was, however, far from fearing any such result for India, for those who

knew the Natives were aware that they were capable of the severest labour, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, with his wide experience, could vouch ; and he could safely affirm that the Hindu ryot was as honest and industrious as others of his class in European countries.

On the motion of Captain PALMER (Acting Hon. Secretary of the Association), votes of thanks to Colonel Rathborne and to the Chairman were agreed to unanimously, and this terminated the proceedings.

ANNUAL MEETING, AUGUST 6, 1873.

THE Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Rooms of the Society, on Wednesday afternoon, 6th August; Mr. Iltadus T. Prichard in the chair, and a considerable number of leading members were present.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, stated that he occupied the position of chairman in consequence of the Right Hon. the Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., President of the Association, being unable to attend, for the reasons stated in a letter which his lordship had addressed to the Secretary, and which would now be read.

Captain W. C. PALMER (Acting Hon. Secretary of the Association) read the following letter from Lord Lyveden: "Dear Sir,—The state of my health has been such for this past season that I am forbidden by Sir William Jenner to attend to any business, and am going abroad to try the next winter in Homburg, on Wednesday next; and shall be unable to attend the meeting on Wednesday next, but hope to hear of its success.—Yours, &c., LYVEDEN."

The CHAIRMAN said the report of the Council, which was already in the hands of the members, and which would, with the permission of the meeting, be taken as read, fully explained the work of the Association during the past year; and he thought that, on the whole, they had every reason to congratulate themselves on the progress they were making; there were abundant signs that the Association was making its way in the country, and exercising an increasing influence upon public opinion with reference to Indian affairs. The session of Parliament which had just closed had been characterized by many writers as a barren session, and so perhaps it was as regards general legislation; but they might congratulate themselves on the fact that during the session there had been in the House of Lords and House of Commons several very interesting and animated debates upon Indian subjects, in the course of which the members of Parliament who had taken part in the discussions had shown an amount of information upon Indian subjects such as might

well be a matter of congratulation to the members of the East India Association. He might refer to the great debate on the Central Asian question, which occupied a whole sitting of the House of Commons, and had important political effects; and he might point to the fact that the debate was mainly the result of a discussion which had previously taken place under the auspices of the Association. There could be no doubt that the ventilation of the question on that occasion had an important effect as regards the negotiations with Russia. Then, too, they had an extremely interesting debate on the secret system in political causes inquired into at the India Office, and the discussion on that occasion will, no doubt, hereafter be productive of very important results. There were one or two important Indian questions which had been unavoidably postponed till next session, owing to the press of miscellaneous work which had occupied the attention of the House of Commons, and which would, no doubt, have early attention; one of these being the grievances of the officers of the Indian Army, which would be brought before the House of Commons by Lord Elcho. Another was a matter of still greater moment, which, although it turned upon a personal question, was pregnant with the most important principles as regards the rights of the chiefs and people of India—the case of the Nawab of Tonk. This question involved the great principle in which every one in India was deeply interested—viz., whether there could be any appeal against the arbitrary acts of the Government in India. They might look forward to an interesting session next year, from an Indian point of view; and he entertained a strong hope that the efforts of the Association would be rewarded with substantial success. He could not conclude without referring to the deep debt of gratitude which they owed to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the self-sacrificing and disinterested manner in which he had forwarded the establishment of the Association on a sound financial basis, and for the interest in its work which he had aroused among the Native rulers of India. (Hear, hear.)

Captain PALMER then read a letter from Mr. John Dickinson expressive of regret at being unable, through illness, to attend the meeting, and observing that, “from the recent debates on Indian finance, and “the comments of the press on the subject, old fallacies on Indian “questions come to life again after they were supposed to be dead and “buried, as if all the bygone argument and discussion upon them had “been conducted in another planet. It is, I hope, reserved for the “East India Association to make progress, year by year, in establishing “fundamental truths with regard to the Indian administration, and preventing speculation and theory about the facts of the case; and I hope “no season would pass without the Association’s being able to unite in

“advocating measures of progress, to prove the utility of its existence
“to its Native supporters.”

The report of the Council, which was as follows, was then taken as read :—

ANNUAL REPORT, 1872-73.

Your Council beg to submit their Report for the year 1872-73.

They are glad to be able to congratulate the members on the steady and increasing success of the Association.

Last year the Council were able to report contributions to the Association to the amount of Rs.1,05,000 from his Highness the Rao of Cutch and other chieftains of India. This sum has been increased during the year by a liberal contribution from his Highness the Maharajah Holkar of Indore of Rs.25,000, and another of Rs.4,000 from his Highness the Rajah of Dhrangdra.

The following communications have been received, bearing testimony to the value of the Association in promoting the true interests of the Princes and people of India :—

LETTER FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE RAO OF CUTCH.

Bhooj, September 4, 1871.

My dear Mr. Dadabhai,—Learning that the East India Association is in want of funds sufficient to insure a good annual income from the interest thereof for its permanent expenses, and appreciating the great benefit which this Institution, if carried on as ably as it has been organized, will confer upon all classes of the Indian public, I am desired by his Highness to inform you that the Durbar will support it by a contribution of Rs.50,000, which will be invested in Government Promissory Notes in his Highness' name, and the interest whereof will be payable to the East India Association as long as the Institution continues to exist.

I shall also be glad to know how and where you would receive the interest above mentioned.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed) ISHWARLAL OCHAVRAM, Officiating Dewan.

LETTER FROM HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJAH HOLKAR.

Indore Palace, Indore, September 23, 1872.

Dear Sir,—I am desired by his Highness the Maharajah Holkar to inform you that he has been watching with much interest the proceedings of the East India Association, and that he believes that if the Association continues to work with the same sincerity and earnestness which have hitherto characterized its action, it gives great promise of proving itself useful in promoting the true interests of all the people and Princes of India.

His Highness has, therefore, much pleasure in contributing Rs.25,000 (twenty-five thousand) for its support; the amount to be invested, under a Trust-deed, in Government Promissory Notes, and the interest thereof, as it accrues due, to be paid to the Association as long as it lasts. His Highness has also desired me to say that

he found the Association continuing to work with benefit to India, he will be happy to render such further assistance as he thinks proper.

His Highness wishes to take this opportunity of tendering his thanks, as a Prince and a Native of India, to the President, the Vice-President, and members, and all other noblemen and gentlemen who have shown such warm interest in the affairs of India by their co-operation with the Association.

His Highness feels much gratified at your own disinterested and patriotic exertions on behalf of India, and considers them very praiseworthy.

Her Gracious Majesty having assumed the direct government of India, and in order that India may derive the full benefit of her benign rule, it is of the utmost importance that the true state of India be correctly known by the public and Parliament of England, and his Highness looks to the East India Association to become an important instrument for accomplishing this object.

His Highness, together with the people of India, hopes that the Press of England and all noblemen and gentlemen who wish well to the British Empire will heartily co-operate in the great cause of making the British rule in India a just and a beneficent one.

One great thing among others necessary for the welfare of India and the permanence of British rule is frank mutual confidence and earnest sympathy; and His Highness doubts not that a better knowledge in England of India's people and their wants will lead to this much-desired result.

India, like an orphan, needs all the kindness and generous sympathy Britain can give to it, standing now in the relation of parent.

His Highness wishes the exertions of the Association God-speed.—I remain, yours faithfully,

(Signed)

RAMRAO NARAYEN,

Dewan to His Highness Maharajah Holkar.

To Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Hon. Secretary East India Association.

The Rajah of Dhrangdra accompanied his donation with the following letter :—

Dhrangdra, Kattywar, January 27, 1873.

Dear Sir,—I am desired by his Highness Raj Saheb Mansingjee to forward herewith Rs. 4,000 (four thousand), in currency notes, as a donation to the East India Association, of which you are one of the most active and distinguished members.

His Highness, I am instructed to add, fully appreciates the eminent services which the Association have rendered and continue to render to the people of India, and hopes that they will continue to work in their sphere of usefulness for a long time to come.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed)

CRISTNARAO PANDOURUNG,

Secretary to His Highness Raj of Dhrangdra.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Honorary Secretary to the
East India Association of London.

The donations contributed by the Chieftains of India and others amount to 1 lac and Rs.38,800, as follows:—

His Highness the Rao of Cutch	Rs.50,000
His Highness the Maharajah Holkar	25,000
His Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur	20,000
His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nowanaghur.....	15,000
Mr. Gowrishunkur Oodeyshunkur	10,000
His Highness the Chief of Wadwan	5,000
Her Highness the Rani of Gondul	4,800
His Highness the Chief of Palitana	4,000
His Highness the Raj Sahib of Dhrangdra	4,000
H.H. the Chief of Jusdan.....	1,000

Rs. 1,38,800

Of these the donations of his Highness the Rao of Cutch, and his Highness the Maharajah Holkar have been invested under trust deeds, in the form given in the Appendix (A, p. 126). Those of his Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur, of Mr. Gowrishunkur Oodeyshunkur, the Thakore Sahibs of Wadwan and Jusdan, are invested under similar trust deeds, but for a limited period of twenty years; and that of Palitana in a similar manner for twenty-five years. The donations of his Highness Raj Sahib of Dhrangdra and the Rani Sahib of Gondul are given absolutely to the Association. For the contribution of his Highness the Jam Sahib, the details of the trust have not yet been settled.

A further sum of Rs.25,000 has been promised by his Highness the Maharajah Holkar.

There are a few small donations and life subscriptions, a list of which will hereafter be given in the Journals of the Association.

The Council cannot but compliment highly the public spirit and disinterestedness with which the above Princes have so munificently contributed solely for the general good of India.

On the return of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji from India, the Council passed the following resolution:—

That this Council warmly welcome Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on his return to England, and desire to express their cordial acknowledgments to him for his vigorous and successful efforts to secure the co-operation and assistance of the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India, on behalf of this Association, and heartily congratulate him on the result of those exertions, which have, they believe, placed this Association on a firm basis and secured the utility of it.

The Council have had under their careful consideration the advisability of able and experienced Natives of India coming forward

to give evidence before the East Indian Finance Committee of the House of Commons, and, after considering the important communications on the subject, which are inserted in the Appendix (B, p. 128), they addressed the following letter to the Chairman of the Select Committee :—

20, Great George Street, Westminster,
London, February 8, 1873.

Sir,—I am directed by the Council of the East India Association to solicit your attention to the following circumstances :—

When the Finance Committee of the House of Commons was first appointed, the members of the East India Association hailed the measure with unmixed satisfaction, believing that the Government had adopted the best method of placing on record complete evidence of the working of the Indian Administration in its practical details.

They assumed at that time that the attendance of a sufficient number of able and experienced Native witnesses would be secured, and they unfortunately did not foresee any especial difficulties in carrying out this object.

To their great regret, however, they find a complaint made in India that the labours of the Committee are likely to prove comparatively fruitless, for want of such Native evidence ; although there is a strong feeling of gratitude for the work it has done with the means at its command.

The complaint is expressed by the Bombay Association in the following terms :

“The Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian Finance have been engaged in taking evidence chiefly regarding the land revenue, forest conservancy, taxes, customs, and excise duties, and receipts from telegraph and other miscellaneous sources. Thirty-four witnesses were examined, of whom twenty-eight were Government servants and six non-official witnesses, of whom only one was a Native of India. The character of the evidence that has been given before the Committee is, for the most part, such as to demonstrate the necessity of adducing independent non-official evidence. Most of the witnesses have clearly exhibited a bias in favour of Government, and have therefore given testimony in favour of the administration of affairs, as conducted at present by Government authorities. The want of independent, impartial, and unbiassed testimony is greatly to be deplored, as it may possibly prevent the Select Committee from reporting the real state of matters as they exist in India under the present Administration.”

And a member of the Indian Finance Committee has, in consequence of this complaint, reminded the East India Association that in their first Report “the Indian Finance Committee expressed a wish that the Natives of India should come forward to give their opinions to the Committee,” adding the expression of his hope “that the East India and other Associations of India, who have hitherto neglected this invitation, will be prepared to bring forward intelligent Natives to give evidence before the Committee this session,” concluding that this Association “must feel, if they fail to do so, they will have no just cause to complain that your

neglect may possibly prevent the Select Committee from reporting the real state of matters as they exist in India under the present Administration."

The East India Association regret that no Native evidence has been obtained in this country, but they are informed that the Bombay and Poona Native Associations are prepared to depute Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee to this country, to appear before the Committee; and I am to ask whether, if he comes over, the Committee will allow him to give evidence on all matters relating to revenue, taxation, and expenditure, on which evidence has already been taken in the last and previous sessions.—I have, &c.,

(Signed)

W. C. PALMER, Captain, Acting Hon. Secretary.

To the Right Hon. Acton Smee Ayrton, M.P., &c.,
Chairman of the Indian Finance Committee.

To this letter the following reply was received from the Committee:—

House of Commons, February 17, 1873.

Sir,—I am directed by the Select Committee on East India Finance to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 8th February, and in reply to inform you that the Committee will be happy to receive the evidence of any Native gentleman who may be deputed to give important information upon the subjects under the consideration of the Committee.—I have, &c.,

(Signed)

GEO. J. STONE.

To Captain Palmer, &c.

The Council thereupon placed themselves in communication with the Bombay Association, who, in conjunction with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, deputed their able Secretary, Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, to come to England to give evidence at the joint expense and on behalf of both these Associations, and the Council are gratified at the readiness with which the above Associations so promptly responded to their suggestions.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, your Honorary Secretary, on hearing that the Finance Committee would probably close its labours this session, at once decided to return to England for the purpose of giving evidence. Important and valuable information has been given by these two gentlemen before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

Subsequent to the correspondence noted above, the Select Committee forwarded the letter from the Secretary of the Association to the Under-Secretary of State for India, and requested him to suggest to the Governor-General the views of the Committee relative to obtaining evidence from India, of those likely to respond to the invitation, and to afford whatever facilities might be deemed necessary to enable them to do so; and they expressed their opinion that the expenses of the witnesses that might be requested to come from India to give evidence should be borne by public funds.

This has been followed by a notification from the Governor-General, that he will receive the names of Natives of India who, from knowledge and experience, are likely to give valuable evidence, and that the reasonable expenses of a limited number will be paid by Government.

[The notification is given in full in the Appendix (C. p. 133).]

DEPUTATION TO BRIGHTON.

Mr. Prichard and Captain Palmer attended, as a deputation from the Council, the public meeting held at Brighton, for the purpose of presenting Addresses to Professor Fawcett and the Electors of that borough, from the Bombay Association and the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, conveying their obligations to the Electors of Brighton for electing Professor Fawcett a Member of Parliament, and for the eminent services which that gentleman has rendered to India. The meeting was very largely attended, and the Addresses were enthusiastically received.

Copies of the Memorial to the Duke of Argyll against the Native Marriage Act, received from the Secretary of the Madras Native Association, have been circulated to Members of Parliament and others interested in the affairs of India.

The following is a list of the Papers read during the year, which were of great public and practical value, and were generally noticed in the English press :—

- 1872. July 23. ALMARIC RUMSEY, Esq.—“Mahomedan Inheritance.”
- 1873. Feb. 1. ILLUDUS PRICHARD, Esq.—“The Central Asian Question.”
- 1873. April 1. Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE.—“The Land Question of India.”
- 1873. May 1. WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq.—“Publicity the Guarantee for Justice; or, ‘The Silent Chamber’ at Whitehall.”
- 1873. July 10. Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE.—“The Land Question of India.” Resumed Discussion.

The papers are reported in full in the Journals of the Association. To the readers of the papers and the gentlemen who took part in the discussions, the Council tender their best thanks.

Since the last meeting twenty-five new members have been elected.

The Council continue to receive very valuable additions to their Library, and they would especially thank Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co. for twenty-five volumes of books on India; and their acknowledgments are due to the Proprietors of the following papers, who present copies for the use of the Reading-room, where they may be daily read by Members of the Association:—

<i>The Delhi Gazette</i>	Agra.
„ <i>Aligurh Gazette</i>	Aligurh.
„ <i>Native Opinion</i>	Bombay.
„ <i>Times of India</i>	„
„ <i>Argus</i>	„
„ <i>Bengalee</i>	Calcutta.
„ <i>Friend of India</i>	„
„ <i>Hindu Patriot</i>	„
„ <i>Indian Daily News</i>	„
„ <i>Indian Economist</i>	„
„ <i>Jabulpur Chronicle</i>	Jabulpur.
„ <i>Madras Athenæum and Daily News</i>	Madras.
„ <i>Madras Times</i>	„
„ <i>Native Public Opinion</i>	„
„ <i>Indian Public Opinion</i>	Lahore.
„ <i>Nafa-ul-Azim</i>	„
„ <i>Examiner</i>	London.
„ <i>Journal of the Society of Arts</i> ...	„
„ <i>Doctor</i>	„

To the Proprietors of all the above papers the Council tender their best thanks.

Their best thanks are also due to the Council of India for continuing to supply them with Parliamentary returns and other important papers relating to India.

The Council have to record, with deep regret, the deaths of Lord Harris, G.C.S.I., one of the Vice-Presidents; and Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, a Member of the Council.

The following gentlemen have been elected Members of Council since the last annual meeting :—

John Farley Leith, Esq., M.P., in place of—

Colonel W. H. Sykes, M.P., deceased.

John Holms, Esq., M.P., in place of—

The Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, returned to India.

Surajbal M. Pundit, Esq., in place of—

Moulvie Syed Ameer Ali, returned to India.

George Noble Taylor, Esq., late Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following Members of the Council retire by rotation. The Council recommend their re-election: Major Bell, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. S. Fitzwilliam, Colonel P. T. French, Mr. J. J. Gazdar, Captain W. C. Palmer, Mr. P. M. Tait, and Mr. W. Tayler.

Sir Henry Rawlinson being unable to take an active part in the meetings of the Council, they recommend his election as a Vice-President.

The Council having heard from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji that he proposes to return to India in the autumn, have accepted with thanks his kind offer to advocate again the claims of the Association in Bombay, where they trust his exertions will again meet with success, and they have requested and authorized him to take such steps to attain that end as he may deem expedient, both in Bombay and other parts of India.

Well supported now, as the Association is, by the Princes and people of India, the Council sincerely trust that its Members will continue to aid them by doing all in their power to further the true progress and welfare of that country.

The Accounts have been examined and audited, and will be found in the Appendix.

The CHAIRMAN said it was his duty to move that the report be adopted, and he had great pleasure in doing so.

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE said that, before the report was adopted, he should like, with the permission of the Chairman, to make a few observations. He need scarcely say he heartily concurred, in the first place, in the commendations which had been passed with regard to the laudable and disinterested exertions that have been made by his friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Honorary Secretary of the Association, in going through Western India, and obtaining from the chiefs and people a large amount of pecuniary support for the Association, with a view of placing it on a sound and permanent basis, and of increasing its sphere of usefulness. And it was a source of sincere gratification to him to learn that this aid had been liberally extended by the Princes and people of India, and by disinterested and philanthropic gentlemen in this country; so that now the Association would be able to conduct its operations with independence and increasing usefulness. The object of the Association was one which would commend itself to the support of every person of intelligence both in India and in England, and the prominent action which the Association has taken in several important matters has met with considerable success, all of which would operate as an incentive to the Association to persevere and prosecute its objects with even more than its wonted zeal and ability. Having discharged the agreeable duty of thus referring to the past work of the Association, he might, perhaps, be allowed to embrace this opportunity—probably the only one he would enjoy during his stay in England—to make a few suggestions to the Association as regards its work in the future. And, first of all, he would urge it to watch zealously the proceedings of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian Finance. An important step had been taken by that Committee to get trustworthy and independent evidence, which was

very much needed in order to enable them to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on the wide and extensive subject with which they were dealing. The want of independent Native testimony was greatly felt, but, thanks to the efforts which had been made, it would seem that that want was being supplied. Natives were now invited to come over to England to give their evidence, and he earnestly hoped that this invitation would result in the Committee being furnished with a full representation of the Native opinion on the matters with which they had to deal. Nevertheless, it was obviously of great importance that the Association should watch the progress of the inquiry with care and vigilance. Another suggestion he would take the liberty of making was, that the Association should take practical action, and make representations to the authorities in England on such important subjects as the following, and other matters affecting the interests of India: First, the delay that has taken place in giving practical effect to Clause 6 of the East India Laws and Regulations Act passed on the 25th March, 1870, for admitting qualified Natives of India into the Covenanted Civil Service without compelling them to come to England to go through the competitive examination. The Association should not rest content with the reading and discussion of lectures, but should give practical effect to them, and make suitable representations to Parliament, or to the Secretary of State for India. The delay in giving practical operation to the 6th Clause was one of these subjects. Three and a-half years had elapsed since the passage of the Act, and nothing had yet been done towards carrying it into effect, although repeatedly questions had been asked in the House of Commons, on behalf of the Natives of India, regarding it. The unreasonable and inexplicable delay confirmed the suspicion of many Natives that it was never intended to give practical effect to the Act of 1870; and the Association should urge the Government to dissipate these suspicions, and Parliament should satisfy the people of India that they were really in earnest in their desire to admit Natives to the higher grades of service from which they have hitherto been excluded. Parliament should therefore be moved to direct the Secretary of State to call upon the Government of India to give effect to the 6th Clause, and carry it out in its spirit and integrity. Another subject in which the Association might usefully exercise its influence was in procuring the submission of the Indian Budget at an early part, instead of the fag-end, of the session. In the first report of the Indian Finance Committee, made this year, they declare that "the House can, by altering its arrangements, without inconvenience to itself, afford a sufficient opportunity for an adequate discussion of the finances and affairs of India." Submitted at a time when more than three-fourths

of the members had left town, and the interest of the rest had subsided, it was obvious that the Indian Revenue accounts could not be properly considered. He would request the Council of the East India Association not only to endeavour to induce the House of Commons to take up the Indian Budget early in the session, but also to discuss it thoroughly and effectively. It was high time to abandon the farce of going through the financial administration of the Indian Empire, and adopting a formal resolution declaring that the income was so much and the expenditure so much. If the House could not check the expenditure that takes place in India, it was certainly in a position to check the growing expenditure incurred by the Indian Treasury at Westminster. This expenditure had increased from 3,500,000*l.* in 1856-7 to 8,000,000*l.* in 1871-2, and the expenditure of the current year is estimated at 9,000,000*l.*, being an increase of close upon 200 per cent. The estimates of this huge expenditure should be prepared and laid before the House by the Under-Secretary, and the House should check all the items and vote upon each part of the proposed expenditure after full discussion. To refer to a few of these items on which remark might be made: The cost of administration by the Secretary of State for India in Council, 150,000*l.*; the contributions towards the expenses of the Mission to the Court of Persia, 12,000*l.*; and towards the cost of Her Majesty's establishments in China, total 34,422*l.*; the maintenance of the Royal Lunatic Asylum at Ealing, 6,510*l.*; maintenance of lunatics at other asylums, 633*l.*; Indian Troop Service, 260,772*l.*; passage of officers otherwise than in troop-ships, 18,957*l.*; charge to India for absorption and supernumerary commissions in British regiments, 22,750*l.*; entertainment given to the Sultan of Turkey, 11,000*l.*; contribution towards the expenses of Her Majesty's ships employed in the Indian Seas, 68,274*l.*; expenses attending the Burmese and Panthay Missions to England, 4,213*l.*; payments to Her Majesty's Exchequer on account of disbursements in the War Office in respect of British forces serving in India, including recruiting charges and pay of colonels, 510,000*l.*; a moiety of the expenses in connection with the Solar Eclipse observations, costing 3,000*l.*; the expenses of constructing the Indo-European Telegraph Line, which is paid wholly out of the Indian Exchequer, although England derives as much benefit as India from it. All these items, and many more which could be pointed out, might fairly be transferred from the Indian Treasury to the British Exchequer. Another object which he would submit for the action of the Association is the direct representation of India in Parliament, for it was only in that way they could really hope that proper supervision could be exercised by Parliament in respect to the affairs of India. And a subject of no less importance was the giving of an

adequate voice to the people of India in the enactment of laws, the imposition of taxes, and the disbursements of the Indian Exchequer under the Government of India and the Local Governments. It was a subject that deserved the careful attention of the East India Association that at present no effective voice is given to the people or their representatives in these most important matters; and it was certainly time that a well-considered scheme should be put forward and adopted for reforming this great defect. By extending the authority and enlarging the bases of the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils by the admission of a sufficient number of properly qualified Native representatives, and by submitting the detailed Imperial and Local Budgets for their sanction after careful examination and full discussion, a salutary check would be placed on the growth of taxation and public expenditure in India—a growth which had been so rapid that it had increased from 32,000,000*l.* in 1856 to 52,000,000*l.* in the present year. Then, too, there would be some chance of attention being directed to the growth of local taxation—a subject of vast importance. These were a few of the subjects upon which the Association might usefully exert its influence, and by doing so it would confer great obligations on the people of India. (Hear, hear.)

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB having briefly expressed his satisfaction at the position of the Association, the report was adopted *nem. con.*

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER proposed that the Right Hon. the Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., be re-elected President for the ensuing year. In doing so, he observed that they all knew the value of a lord, even though he only lent his name to a society and took no further trouble in the matter; whereas Lord Lyveden had, throughout, shown, as far as possible, an active personal interest in the Association, and he had aided it whenever it was in his power. He had, therefore, great pleasure in proposing the re-election of the noble lord as President.

Mr. P. P. GORDON, in seconding the motion, said they could not possibly have a President more interested in the welfare of the Association, and they had uniformly found him ready to give every attention that his health would admit, at any time when he was asked by the Council for advice or assistance. They could not have a better President than Lord Lyveden. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in moving that the following Princes, noblemen, and gentlemen be elected Vice-Presidents for the ensuing year observed that he need hardly say how gratifying it was to the Natives of India to see such names in connection with the Association:—

The Most Noble the Marquis of SALISBURY, P.C., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.
The Right Hon. the Earl of SHAFTESBURY, K.G., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., &c.

Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, P.C., M.P.

General Right Hon. Lord SANDHURST, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., P.C.

Lord WILLIAM MONTAGU HAY, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

General Lord STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Member of H.M.'s Most Honourable Privy Council of Ireland.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart., Governor of South Australia.

Sir CHARLES EDWARD TREVELYAN, K.C.B., F.R.G.S., &c.

His Highness the Rao of KUTCH, G.C.S.I.

His Highness the Nawab of JOONAGHUR, K.C.S.I.

Major-General Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Mr. W. S. FITZWILLIAM said he felt it a real pleasure to second this resolution, for he had known and associated with many of the gentlemen, and he knew what their position as leaders in other walks of politics and of life demanded. He was gratified that they were willing to renew their services, and, therefore, had great pleasure in seconding the motion.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. J. C. PARRY moved the re-election of the following gentlemen, who retired by rotation, as members of Council for the ensuing year:—

Major THOMAS EVANS BELL, M.R.A.S.

DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq., Hon. Secretary.

W. S. FITZWILLIAM, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.S.S.

Lieut.-Colonel PAT. THEO. FRENCH.

JAMSETJI JIVANJI GAZDAR, Esq., M.A.

Captain WILLIAM CHARLES PALMER.

P. M. TAIT, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.S.S.

WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq., Retired B.C.S.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, in seconding this resolution, said he would only express a hope that, good as the members of Council had been in the past, they would be still better in the future.

The resolution was adopted *nem. con.*

Mr. NORTON moved that the best thanks of the Association be given to the proprietors of newspapers which are supplied gratis to the Reading-room of the Association. The speaker observed that he was quite certain that good wine needed no bush, and that nothing was required from him in advocating support for the resolution. It was, of course, most desirable that they should have the largest possible selection of newspapers in their Library, especially for the benefit, comfort, and convenience of those who come from India, and who have no other opportunity of consulting the Indian journals of the day. Moreover, while believing that the greater part of the journalism of India is conducted with great liberality and talent, it was nevertheless true that it occasionally happened that an erroneous opinion was published, and the adoption of views was urged, which the Association would not be prepared to take up. In such cases it would be the duty of the Association to do its best to correct these erroneous impressions by putting forward the

facts of the case under consideration. Unfortunately, they were not in a pecuniary position to take the ordinary means of procuring Indian journals, and they were therefore much indebted to the proprietors for favouring them with copies. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE, in seconding the motion, said he believed the proprietors of Indian newspapers, in sending copies of their journals, were actuated by a very good motive—namely, the dissemination of a knowledge of the wants and grievances of India in this country. In order to make these wants known, it was certain that no better method could be adopted than by placing the newspapers on the Library-table of the Association, and therefore he hoped the practice would progress until every Indian newspaper and periodical would find its way to the rooms of the East India Association. Then, too, they might hope to see Indian subjects form the topic of intelligent discussion by the press of England. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI said that, before the vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed, he desired to make some brief explanations to the members, and this perhaps was the most fitting opportunity. With regard to the donations given by the Princes of India, there was, it appeared, some misapprehension. Although the Council had clearly and unequivocally shown that these donations had been given entirely upon public grounds, and simply for the general good of the country, he would now emphatically repeat this in order that there might be no misunderstanding or misapprehension on that point. There was absolutely no condition, no promise, no hope, held out that the donors should have any personal interest or benefit from the efforts made by the Association in England. He wished it to be distinctly understood that there were no more conditions attached to the donations than to the ordinary yearly subscriptions or donations of any of the members present, except that the gifts were princely, as became the gifts of princes. Any contrary opinion would seriously endanger the position of the Association, and therefore he wished to set the matter at rest at once and, he hoped, for ever. In further explanation, he might add that in his journey through Western India, he visited the Court of Baroda in March last year, to solicit support, but his Highness was not inclined to do anything. Some months afterwards, however, he received a letter inviting him to return, and when he went, his Highness asked his advice and assistance on certain private affairs. He accordingly undertook the performance of certain work for his Highness, without having any idea of expecting anything like pecuniary remuneration. But his Highness urged that the service performed was of great value to him, and—finding that a personal recom-

pense would not be acceptable—he insisted upon making a provision for his (the speaker's) children to the extent of Rs.50,000. (Hear, hear.) He (the speaker) felt the great delicacy of the position he held as regards the East India Association, and hence his first resolve to accept no pecuniary recompense even in the form so considerably urged by his Highness. Subsequently, however, he consulted with some of his best friends in India—friends who would, he knew, care more for his honour than his pocket—and they told him that, in their opinion, he need not have the slightest hesitation in accepting the provision for his children—(hear, hear)—especially as he had earned it by honest and valued labour. (Hear, hear.) Still, he was undecided in the matter, and he had since consulted some of his English friends in England, who, after hearing all the circumstances of the case, one and all said as strongly as possible that he should not have the slightest hesitation in the matter, and that he was bound to allow his children the benefit of his work. (Hear, hear.) He would not have troubled the meeting with this explanation about a private affair, but a public character had been given to the circumstance, and it was also supposed that he had undertaken some agency of his Highness, and had come over to England to fight his cause or to excite the East India Association to do so, and to advance his personal interests. This was altogether untrue. (Hear, hear.) He had heard in Bombay that certain high officials had entertained misapprehensions of the kind to which he referred; and only the other day, when in the Committee-room of the House of Commons, a gentleman high in authority, and for whom he had respect, said, “If you are going to give any evidence about Native Princes, I shall look out for you.” This confirmed his suspicion that some misapprehension existed. It was to dispel this misapprehension that he held an agency, that he had ventured to trespass on the time of the Association in making this explanation, and he would distinctly repeat that he had always felt his position in regard to the Association to be so peculiarly delicate, that, although it was probable that he might have experienced little difficulty in making two or three lacs if he had chosen to undertake agencies, he had throughout maintained strictly his resolve that his character and conduct should be entirely above suspicion, and therefore to all such offers he had always replied that he had a broader work to do, and that he could not serve God and Mammon at the same time. He hoped that as long as he was the Honorary Secretary of this Association he should never do anything which would in the slightest degree compromise the Association, or which would be calculated to produce any prejudice against its work. In conclusion, he would only say that it might now be fairly said that the Princes and people of India had done their part in giving

assistance to the Association ; and he had no doubt that, should the Association continue to work as earnestly and as honestly as it has been doing hitherto—confining itself to the consideration of general questions only, to subjects for the general good of every class of the Indian community—the Association might fairly expect still further aid. (Hear, hear.) At any rate, at present the Association had been placed in a substantially good financial position ; it is free from anxiety as to money, and it can, if properly conducted, obtain sufficient funds to meet all claims. It now rests with the members of the Association to turn this to good account, and to make the East India Association really useful, and a blessing to the people of India. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER said that, before their Hon. Secretary proposed the vote of thanks to the Chairman, he would suggest that, although the Council had expressed and recorded its deep gratitude to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a repetition of that expression might very fairly and properly come from the general meeting—(hear, hear)—and, therefore, it had been his intention, irrespective of the explanation which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had just offered, to say a few words on the subject. He considered that, as far as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was concerned, the explanation which he had just made was quite superfluous. (Hear, hear.) There was no member of the Association who would for a moment suspect Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji of sacrificing the honour and integrity and reputation of the society for the sake of advancing his own personal interests. (Hear, hear.) At the same time, as they lived in what had been called “a wicked world,” and while there were in existence such beings as hypocrites, besides many who would perhaps not object to weaken the Association, the explanation they had just heard was judicious and timely, and, at the same time, eminently satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) It was extremely desirable that the fact of the Association’s work being based on general principles should be distinctly maintained. As to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s work, he could only say that, although hope was the feeling which was said to live longest in the human breast, even this sentiment—its existence in the hearts of the Council of the Association—was entirely owing to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s systematic and untiring efforts to place the Association on a sound financial footing. Hence it was solely due to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji that the Association could look forward to the future with confidence, and entertain the hope that success would attend its work. He, therefore, thought that, altogether independently of the thanks of the Council, the meeting should now give its hearty thanks to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as the sincere expression of their admiration of the spirited and honourable enterprise which had characterized his efforts on behalf of the Association.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB said he could strongly and heartily support that motion. He really did not know what would have become of the Association if it had not been for the indomitable energy which was displayed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. He had restored the Association from a state of embarrassment, and they could not say too much in acknowledging their gratitude to him. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, too, deserved great credit for steering clear of the rock of private grievances; and he had done everything in his power to show that the Association had nothing whatever to do with the advocacy of matters of this kind, but that its object was strictly the general welfare of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) The moment the Association left this position and took up any special private grievance, however justly founded it would lose all weight and authority in England.

The resolution having been carried by acclamation,

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in acknowledging the compliment, returned his sincere thanks for the kind expressions used regarding him; but he felt he had simply done his duty. He moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. GEORGE NOBLE TAYLOR, in seconding this, observed that Mr. Prichard was one of the few men who, throughout, had spared neither time, trouble, nor attention in behalf of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution having been cordially adopted,

The CHAIRMAN, in expressing his acknowledgments, said it had always been his endeavour to promote the objects of the Association.

The proceedings then terminated.

APPENDIX A.

Form of Trust Deed.

THIS INDENTURE made the twenty-fourth day of June, One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, between his Highness Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maha Rao Shree, Sir Pragmalji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., the Rao of Cutch, of the one part, and Javerilal Umiashankar, Merchant ; Bhau Daji, Graduate, Grant Medical College ; William Martin Wood, Journalist ; and Ardaseer Framjee Moos, Merchant, all of Bombay, of the other part. Whereas an Association, styled the East India Association, and having its office at present at 20, Great George Street, Westminster, London, has been established for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India ; and whereas his Highness Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maha Rao Shree, Sir Pragmalji Bahadur, the Rao of Cutch, is desirous to advance the objects of the said Association, and has for such purpose caused the Government Promissory Notes set forth in the Schedule hereunder written to be purchased in the name of the New Bank of Bombay, Limited, and to be delivered to the said parties hereto of the other part ; and it has been arranged that the parties hereto of the other part shall stand possessed of the said Government Promissory Notes upon the trusts and for the intents and purposes hereinafter declared of and concerning the same : now this Indenture witnesseth, and it is hereby agreed and declared by and between his Highness Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maha Rao Shree, Sir Pragmalji Bahadur, the said Rao of Cutch, and the said Javerilal Umiashankar, Bhau Daji, William Martin Wood, and Ardaseer Framjee Moos, that they, the said Javerilal Umiashankar, Bhau Daji, William Martin Wood, and Ardaseer Framjee Moos shall forthwith deposit with the New Bank of Bombay, Limited, the said Government Promissory Notes, and obtain a receipt therefor in their own names, and deliver the same to his Highness Maharajadhiraj Mirza Maha Rao Shree, Sir Pragmalji Bahadur, the said Rao of Cutch, or his agent, and shall, by a letter addressed to the said New Bank of Bombay, Limited, request and direct the said Bank to remit to the President of the Council and the Secretary of the said East India Association for the time being, so long as the said East India Association shall exist, the net interest of said Government Promissory Notes as it accrues due, and that the Trustees for the time being under these presents shall, in the event of the dissolution of the said East India Association, at any time hereafter, at the request of his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the time being, or of his agent, endorse or sign in such manner as may be required by the said New Bank of Bombay, Limited, the receipts hereinbefore referred to, or any new receipts that may hereafter be given in lieu thereof. And it is hereby agreed and declared that, in the event of the death or resignation of Javerilal Umiashankar, his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the time being shall have power to nominate and appoint another Trustee in the room and stead of the said Javerilal Umiash-

hankar, and in the event of the death or resignation of any appointee of his Highness the Rao of Cutch, another Trustee in his place and stead shall be appointed by his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the time being; it being the intent and meaning of the parties hereto that one of the four Trustees empowered to act in these presents shall be always the nominee of his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the time being. And it is hereby agreed and declared that in the event of the death or resignation of any of the other three Trustees, it shall be lawful for the surviving or continuing Trustees or Trustee (and for this purpose every retiring Trustee shall, if willing to act in the execution of this power, be considered a continuing Trustee) to appoint a new Trustee or new Trustees in the place of the Trustee or Trustees so dying or resigning; and every Trustee so appointed may act or assist in the execution of the Trust of these presents as fully and effectually as if he had been hereby constituted a Trustee. And it is hereby agreed and declared that upon every appointment of a new Trustee or Trustees, as hereinbefore provided for, the then existing receipt for the said Government Promissory Notes shall be returned to the said Bank by his Highness the Rao of Cutch, for the purpose of having a fresh receipt issued in the name of the Trustees for the time being. And it is hereby further provided that all the powers by these presents conferred in reference to said Government Promissory Notes may be exercised by any two or more of the Trustees for the time being. In witness whereof the parties to these presents have herunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

The Schedule hereinbefore referred to :—

Nos. on the Notes.	Rate of Interest.	Amount.
044,476 of 1865	4 per cent. per annum.	Rs. 5,000
044,477 of 1865	"	5,000
026,314 of 1865	"	4,000
019,228 of 1854-55	"	3,000
017,999 of 1854-55	"	3,000
016,607 of 1842-43	"	2,700
007,232 of 1842-43	"	2,300
011,993 of 1865	"	2,000
011,994 of 1865	"	2,000
029,974 of 1865	"	1,000
029,975 of 1865	"	1,000
029,976 of 1865	"	1,000
029,977 of 1865	"	1,000
029,978 of 1865	"	1,000
015,965 of 1865	"	1,000
015,966 of 1865	"	1,000
015,967 of 1865	"	1,000
015,968 of 1865	"	1,000
015,969 of 1865	"	1,000
015,970 of 1865	"	1,000
015,971 of 1865	"	1,000
015,972 of 1865	"	1,000

Nos. on the Notes.	Rate of Interest.	Amount.
015,973 of 1865	4 per cent. per annum.	Rs.1,000
015,172 of 1864-55	"	1,000
016,053 of 1865	"	1,000
017,172 of 1865	"	1,000
017,175 of 1865	"	1,000
016,608 of 1842-43	"	800
000,977 of 1865	"	700
5,640 of 1842-43	"	500
024,242 of 1865	"	500
624,247 of 1865	"	500

Signed, sealed, and delivered.

RAO PRAGMALJI.

G. R. GOODFELLOW, Acting Political Agent, Cutch.

ISHWARLAL OCHAVRAM, Officiating Dewan of Cutch,

JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR.

BHAU DAJI.

WILLIAM MARTIN WOOD.

ARDASEER FRAMJEE MOOS.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the above-named Javerilal Umiashankar, Bhanu Daji, William Martin Wood, and Ardaseer Framjee Moos, in the presence of

R. S. DALLAS, Solicitor.

P. S. RODRIQUES, Clerk to Messrs. Dallas and Lynch,
Solicitors, Bombay.

APPENDIX B.

Correspondence Relative to Obtaining Evidence of Natives from India.

King's Ride, Ascot, Staines, December 23, 1872.

Sir,—I have felt, in common with many of my colleagues on the Indian Finance Committee, the difficulty of arriving at correct conclusions on the subjects brought before us without having the opportunity of hearing evidence from Natives of India.

I see from the Report of the Bombay Association, which you have forwarded to me, complaints that "of thirty-four witnesses examined by the Committee, twenty-eight were Government servants and six non-official witnesses, of whom only one was a Native of India;" and it is added, "the want of independent, impartial, and unbiassed testimony is greatly to be deplored."

I think you will find that the first Report of the Indian Finance Committee expressed the wish that Natives of India should come forward and give their opinions to the Committee.

"As the Committee will be re-appointed early the ensuing Session of Parliament, I write with the hope that your and the other Associations of India, who have hitherto neglected this invitation, will be prepared to bring forward intelligent Natives to give evidence before the Committee next year.

I think you must feel that if your Associations fail to do so, you will have no just cause to complain that your neglect "may possibly prevent the Select Committee from reporting the real state of matters as they exist in India under the present Administration."—Truly yours,

(Signed)

J. B. SMITH.

The Secretary of the East India Association.

70, Marine Parade, Brighton, January 8, 1873.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for kindly sending me a copy of the letter from Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., which the Council is convened to consider on Thursday.

2. As I may be unable to attend the Council, owing to my temporary absence from town, I will venture to trouble you with a few observations in writing on Mr. Smith's letter, as my opinion has long since been formed, and even expressed to himself, on the subject of it.

3. What I have said to my old friend is, that only inquiry *in India* can disclose the real state of our administration there; because the Native evidence required for this disclosure can only be procured on the spot. (With this long settled conviction, it would not be of much use for *me* to discuss Mr. Smith's proposals in the Council.)

4. When Mr. Smith says that the Indian Finance Committee wish "to hear the opinions of intelligent Natives," I quite believe him, though I fear the word "opinion" is very misleading.

5. In the comprehensive inquiry undertaken by the Committee, I apprehend that it is not the "opinions" of witnesses in England, but that evidence of facts by practical men, only to be obtained in India, which is wanted to show the real state and the consequences of our local administration there. The "opinions" of a Native of India, resident in and connected with English society, and speaking in a House of Commons' Committee-room, is likely to be so much toned down from what it would be in his own country and among his own people, 12,000 miles away, that his countrymen would no longer recognize it as a Native opinion.

6. In a few exceptional cases, such as that of our friend the Kazi Shahabudin, it may be *possible* for the Committee to hear valuable opinions and facts from one of those intelligent Natives (whose name is legion) who see much more of the working of our administration in India than their English official superiors do. It may be *possible* that such a sensible and experienced visitor may recall "truths unpleasant to the great," forgetting that he has a suit to prosecute in England, and has need of every official friend he can make here; but this is not *probable*.

7. The rule must be, that the Native evidence which is indispensable to prove the "real state" of our Indian Administration, and the popular feeling towards it, can only be obtained on the spot, among the Natives themselves.

8. The distance between our two countries renders our inquiry *here*, in my opinion, a mockery of the people of India; and though I admit that the Indian Finance Committee do not see this, and are sincerely trying to ascertain "*the real state of matters as they exist in India under the present Administration*," it seems to me unreasonable for any member of the Committee to charge the East India and the local Native Associations with "*neglecting the invitation of the Committee*" to supply Native evidence, and with "*having no just cause to complain*" of "*their neglect*," prevents the Committee from reporting correctly.

9. It is difficult to express the insurmountable obstacles opposed by distance to an inquiry *here* into the details of Indian administration. It is difficult to find anything in our history merely analogous to it, as a comparison or illustration; yet our history is not quite without warning and suggestion on the subject.

10. We have two or three times been governed by distant rulers—i.e., under the Roman Empire, under the first Plantagenets, and under the Popes (with respect to ecclesiastical dignities and temporalities).

11. Under the two last sets of absentee rulers we had evidence that their habitual disregard of English grievances, and the impossibility of making them understand the effects of the abuse of their power here, prepared the public mind for revolts against their authority, which ended in its entire overthrow in the one case, and its effectual control in the other.

12. Under the Roman Empire, although by the imperial system of Rome (the very reverse of ours) the Colonists were freely admitted to the Army and the Administration, and all the best appointments were not kept for foreigners, still, even then, an inquiry into alleged grievances or defects in the administration of Britain could not have been conducted successfully by a Committee of born Italians sitting in Rome. The evidence of the Natives of this island, including agricultural, commercial, professional, and even the resident official classes, could not have been tendered personally at Rome, on account of the distance, expense, and ruinous loss of time to the witnesses; and a Roman statesman, who felt that the evidence of intelligent provincials was indispensable to the success of such an inquiry, would have sent out for information to the Natives themselves, to the "*extremos in orbe Britannos*," and not have announced that they must come to him; or else, if his Roman Committee reported incorrectly, it would be owing to "*their neglect*," and their not "*bringing forward intelligent Natives to give evidence*" in Rome!

13. But what would have been impossible in the case of the Britons is far more impossible in the case of Natives of India. The obstacles to supplying evidence from one province of Europe to another are comparatively slight to those which prevent the supply of evidence from an Asiatic Empire on the other side of the globe, at our antipodes, to the metropolis of a new world to them, in Eng-

land. Not only the distance, the expense, the loss of time to witnesses, would be almost immeasurably greater, but no calculation of these would represent the obstacles to bringing one of the most experienced and intelligent class of Native witnesses—namely, the Brahmins—who would be excommunicated for their journey; that is, would forfeit, if not life itself, at least everything that makes life dear to a man. From what I have known of the sufferings of one of these Indian gentlemen who came over, as a witness for the Committee might do, from a sense of duty, I am sure that no generous Englishman would invite another Brahmin to come to this country for the very poor prospect afforded him of doing any public good.

14. For what prospect has any intelligent Native of procuring reform in India by giving evidence before a Parliamentary Committee? Is it worth while for any individual among the "241,000,000" to undertake a journey of 12,000 or 14,000 miles to give evidence on some public department, knowing that even if he has the luck to arrive before the Committee is adjourned, or the Parliament dissolved, he may expect to be questioned by some crammed official who does not understand the subject—before Members of Parliament who equally do not understand the subject; and that if his evidence inculpates "the present Administration," he will not merely be cross-examined, brow-beaten, and mystified, but also contradicted on the "highest official authority" (always English); so that his evidence will certainly be discredited, if not quite neutralized, by the parliamentary practice with which we are so familiar; whereas, in his own province or presidency, where the facts are notorious, and scores of intelligent witnesses would come forward if necessary to corroborate his statements, it would be impossible to get rid of his evidence by such juggling!

15. For I assert that scores of intelligent Natives would come forward, if necessary, in their own country; they are ready enough to give evidence when there is a chance of its being fairly heard. When the "Torture Commission"* invited evidence at Madras, some poor people walked hundreds of miles to describe the cruelties they had suffered from our Revenue and Police officers. "The iron had entered into their souls," and so it has into those of thousands of witnesses against the present Administration in India, who are only mute to us because there is no fair, accessible inquiry among them.

16. Now the remedy proposed twenty years ago, by the noblemen and gentlemen, in and out of Parliament, with whom I had the honour to act, in the great struggle for Indian Reform of 1853, was to send out a Royal Commission of Inquiry to India to hear and record the grievances of all classes of the Natives, taking ample time to do it. If the Government of the day had adopted that measure, all classes of the Natives, from the prince to the peasant, were prepared to give evidence, and would have revealed, in time to prevent mischief, those scandalous abuses of our power which, as I then foretold distinctly, were leading to a military

* Admirably managed by Mr. John Bruce Norton, whom I should be glad to see at the head of another Commission of Inquiry.

mutiny of the most dangerous kind, because, as Dinker Rao observed, "after all, the Sepoys are Natives of India, and sympathize with their countrymen." But the Government then, as now, were living in a "fool's paradise" on the subject of India, and denied the grievances of the people, and the necessity for inquiry.

17. Twenty years later, I again say that the deep and just discontent of the people of India threatens to paralyze our national power, and burst our prosperity like a bubble; and that a Royal Commission of Inquiry, instructed to hear the grievances of all classes of the Natives in their own country, is the only method by which our statesmen can learn "the real state of matters as they exist in India under the present Administration," and the vast extent of reform which is necessary to satisfy India, and secure the honour and safety of this country.—I remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

To Capt. W. C. Palmer.

(Signed) JOHN DICKINSON.

38, Thurloe Square, S. W., January 16, 1873.

My dear Sir,—Captain Palmer, the Acting Secretary of the East India Association, informs me that he replied on the 31st December to your letter of the 23rd of that month; but it was only on the 9th of January that he had an opportunity of laying it before the Council, and it was then thought that, on account of the very great importance of the subject, the Chairman should communicate with you more fully with regard to it.

I would say, then, that the Bombay Report to which you allude expresses an opinion which has from the first been held by many, if not all, members of the Council of the East India Association here. We feel most strongly that "the independent, impartial, and unbiassed testimony" of Indians should be called for by the Finance Committee, and without that testimony it is impossible to arrive at correct and satisfactory conclusions respecting the grave questions which have been mooted before the Committee. Among these I may mention the degree in which taxation presses on the different classes of the Indian people, the comparative expediency of the taxes and their proper adjustment, the means of imparting elasticity to the Revenue, and, at the same time, of alleviating the burthens of the taxpayers, the economies which should be introduced, and the best mode of consulting the people regarding future measures. We cannot admit that we have neglected to press for Native evidence, and it is a fact that the only Native of India who has hitherto been examined, the Kazi Shahabudin Khan Bahadoor, was called at the earnest request of myself, the Chairman of the Council. Further, before seeing your letter, I wrote to Mr. Ayrton, to ask that a Native gentleman whom the Bombay Association are desirous of deputing to give evidence, might be examined. But it is felt that very much more than this should be done, and that Indian gentlemen of the greatest knowledge and experience, such as Dinker Rao, the late Dewan of Travancore, and, if H.H. the

Nizam would permit it, Sá'ár Jung should be invited to appear before the Committee, together with at least three Native officials from each presidency and province under a Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner. And in order to learn the opinions of the masses, it is thought that mixed consultative committees of European and Native officers should be appointed in the different provinces to inquire into such matters as may appear to call for further elucidation, and, as a tentative measure, to see how far it would be possible to consult public opinion in the imposition of future and modification of existing taxation. Serious objections, no doubt, may be raised against this last proposal, as it is well known that the people of India are easily disquieted by anything that seems to portend change, and would rather bear the ills they have than encourage investigations, the results of which they are unable to predict. At the same time, it appears not impossible that some plan might be suggested of carrying out the idea so as to obtain the requisite information without creating alarm.

The above views are, I hope, in accordance with your own; and I trust that you will, on reconsideration, acquit us of neglect in pressing them hitherto, for there is still an amount of official evidence to be taken, which, unless matters are to be slurred over in the most reprehensible manner, must, I should imagine, occupy the whole of next session. Very little encouragement, too, has been given by Government to those who hold these views. In answer to my letter, Mr. Ayrton has stated that in no case will the expenses of Native witnesses be paid, and that it is uncertain whether even the delegate of the Bombay Association will obtain a hearing. The best course, therefore, appears to be that a deputation of the East India Association should wait on the Duke of Argyll to express an earnest hope that the labours of the Committee will not be brought to a conclusion until a full, searching, and satisfactory examination of Native witnesses has been instituted. Should you concur in this view, perhaps you will assist at a preliminary meeting to consider the matter, and inform me of the time when it would be convenient for you to attend.—I am, yours faithfully,

(Signed)

EDWARD B. EASTWICK.

J. B. Smith, Esq., M.P.

APPENDIX C.

The Notification Referred to at Page 115.

1. Her Majesty's Government desire that, in the course of next year, Natives of India shall be examined in London by the Committee of the House of Commons upon East Indian Finance.
2. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General will receive the names of Natives of India who, from knowledge and experience, are likely to give valuable evidence upon the revenue and expenditure (local or imperial) of Her Majesty's Indian territories, and are willing to visit England for that purpose.

3. The reasonable expenses of the visit to England of a limited number of such witnesses will be paid by the Imperial Government, and care will be taken, as far as practicable, to provide for their comfort during their absence from India.

4. Natives of India who are willing to proceed to England for the purpose of being examined, are requested to send their names to the Secretary to the Government of the Province in which they reside, and to state the subjects upon which they desire to be examined.

5. As the list of witnesses must be forwarded to Her Majesty's Government without delay, no application will be received by the Local Government after the 14th of July.

6. No assurance can be given that the offer of any Native of India to proceed to England as a witness will be accepted, as the selection of the witnesses from a list to be forwarded by the Viceroy will be made in England by the Committee of the House of Commons. Therefore no witness should make arrangements to visit England until he has been informed that his offer is accepted.

7. Notice will be given of the acceptance or otherwise of the offers received with as little delay as possible, and probably no witness will be required to leave India before the 1st of January, 1874.

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID from MAY 1, 1872, till APRIL 30, 1873.

Date.		RESIDENT MEMBERS (l. for Life Members).			£	s.	d.
1872.				For			
May	2.—H. R. Henderson, Esq.	1872			1	5	0
"	" —Sir T. E. Colebrooke, M.P.	"			1	5	0
"	9.—George Appleton, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —Thomas Briggs, Esq.	1871-72			2	10	0
"	10.—Thomas H. Coles, Esq.	1872			1	5	0
"	9.—S. P. Low, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —James Matthews, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —Charles Jay, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	11.—(l) Lord Lyveden (Journals)	1871-72			0	10	0
"	" —Syed Mahmood	"			2	10	0
"	17.—C. Forjett, Esq.	1872			1	5	0
"	" —Sir Robert Hamilton	"			1	5	0
"	" —Henry Kimber, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	21.—Hugh Mason, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	23.—Hon. C. G. Lyttelton, M.P.	"			1	5	0
"	28.—Professor T. H. Key	"			1	5	0
"	" —A. C. Scott, Esq.	"			1	5	0
June	3.—Colonel Edward Thompson	"			1	5	0
"	4.—Sir Donald McLeod	"			1	5	0
"	20.—Dr. W. Thom.	"			1	5	0
"	22.—Colonel W. E. Evans	"			1	5	0
July	1.—Colonel J. S. Trevor	"			1	5	0
"	3.—Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	"			1	5	0
"	8.—K. G. Gupta, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —Colonel Thomas Stock	"			1	5	0
"	" —Dr. D. H. Small	"			1	0	0
July	9.—Standish Grove Grady, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —Major-General W. F. Marriott	"			1	5	0
"	17.—James Ouchterlony, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	22.—A. W. Wollaston, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —Dr. A. Graham	"			1	5	0
"	" — Ditto (Donation)	"			0	1	0
"	30.—Miss Carpenter	"			1	1	0
"	" —Francis Mathew, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —W. A. Hunter, Esq.	1871-72			2	10	0
Aug.	8.—T. G. A. Palmer, Esq.	1872			1	5	0
"	" —Lieut.-Col. W. Gray, M.P.	"			1	5	0
"	12.—M. Vencatasawmy Naidoo, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	14.—A. R. Hutchins, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —(l) Major -Gen. Sir R. Wallace (Journals)	1868-72			1	5	0
"	26.—P. C. Venkatachella Chetty, Esq.	1872			1	5	0
"	" —P. Venkatakrishnama Naidoo, Esq.	"			1	5	0
"	" —C. Sabapathi Iyah, Esq.	"			1	5	0

Carried over £55 2 0

Date.		For	£	s.	d.
1872.	Brought forward.....	g	55	2	0
Sept. 9.	—J. P. Wise, Esq.....	1872	1	5	0
Nov. 21.	—L. Mavrogordato, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
Dec. 7.	—R. E. Forrest, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
„	„ —R. T. Lattey, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —John Holms, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ 13.	—(Z) Robert Fischer, Esq.	Journal Life Sub.....	14	0	0
„ 31.	—Thomas Taylor, Esq.....	1873	1	5	0
„	„ —S. V. Morgan, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
1873.					
Jan. 1.	—General J. F. Bird.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Sir Arthur Cotton.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Sir Vincent Eyre.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Colonel Edward Hemery.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Captain W. C. Palmer.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Captain A. Phelps.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —General W. Richardson	„	1	5	0
„	„ —General C. D. Wilkinson {				
„	„ —W. L. Wilkinson, Esq. ... }	„	2	5	0
„	„ —Colonel Edward Thompson.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —J. T. Wood, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Lord Strathnairn	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Sir G. Balfour, M.P.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Colonel W. E. Evans	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Colonel C. Mackenzie	„	1	5	0
„	„ —General J. D. Macpherson	„	1	0	0
„	„ —Major-General W. F. Marriott.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —*John Peel, Esq., M.P. ..	„	1	5	0
„	„ —T. G. A. Palmer, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Sir Robert Hamilton.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —W. Markby, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —H. B. Samuelson, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Henry Kimber, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Colonel P. T. French	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Colonel J. S. Trevor.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Marquis of Salisbury	„	1	0	0
„	„ —Sir C. E. Trevelyan	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Lord R. Grosvenor, M.P.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —W. M'Cullagh Torrens, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —G. G. Macpherson, Esq. ..	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Hon. C. G. Lyttelton, M.P.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —A. R. Hutchins, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 4.	—George Foggo, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Dr. W. Thom.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —R. H. Elliot, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Clement Dale, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„	„ —Juland Danvers, Esq.	„	1	5	0

Carried over £123 7 0

* Returned, Mr. Peel having died before the subscription became due.

Date.		For	£	s.	d.
1873.	Brought forward		123	7	0
Jan.	4.—John Pender, Esq., M.P.	1873	1	5	0
"	7.—Dr. A. H. Leith.	"	1	5	0
"	9.—J. F. Hore, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	"—H. D. Seymour, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	10.—Lucas Mavrogordato, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	13.—J. F. Watkins, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	14.—Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P. ...	"	1	5	0
"	15.—Lord Sandhurst	"	1	5	0
"	17.—S. S. Dickinson, Esq., M.P.	"	1	5	0
"	23.—H. M. Court, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	30.—Major F. Brine	"	1	5	0
Feb.	7.—General E. W. S. Scott	"	1	5	0
"	8.—Mrs. Akroyd	"	1	5	0
"	14.—Syed Ameer Ali	1872-73	2	10	0
"	15.—Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P.	"	2	10	0
"	"—M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P.	"	2	10	0
"	18.—John Dickinson, Esq. 1871 to 1873 and extra Journals		4	10	6
"	19.—W. H. S. Crawford, Esq.	1873	1	0	0
"	"—G. M. Tagore, Esq.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	"—Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Storks, M.P. 1871 to 1873		3	15	0
"	20.—J. D. Bell, Esq.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	"—George Macnair, Esq.	"	3	15	0
"	"—Dr. W. Farr	1873	1	5	0
"	21.—(l) Ferd. Schiller, Esq. Journals 1868-73 ...		1	10	0
"	"—Colonel Rathborne	1872-73	2	10	0
"	22.—H. R. Shroff, Esq.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	"—General Sir John Low	1872-73	2	10	0
"	"—Rev. Hormazdji Pestonji	1871-73	3	15	0
"	"—I. T. Prichard, Esq.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	24.—R. D. Sassoon, Esq.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	"—Sir Cecil Beadon	1872-73	2	10	0
March	3.—H. Lee Smith, Esq.	"	2	10	0
"	4.—H. B. Riddell, Esq.	"	2	10	0
"	"—Professor C. Cassall	1872	1	5	0
"	5.—(l) W. T. S. Oakes, Esq. Journal Life Sub. ...		14	0	0
"	"—Sir H. Rawlinson, K.C.B.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	10.—Hon. H. G. Liddell, M.P.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	12.—Miss M. Carpenter	1872-73	1	9	0
"	13.—Colonel David Briggs	"	2	10	0
"	14.—Sir Arnold Kemball	1873	1	5	0
"	"—Julius Eggeling, Esq.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	"—Sir J. Ranald Martin	1873	1	5	0
"	"—H. F. Gibbons, Esq.	1872	1	5	0
"	15.—C. Forjett, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	17.—J. A. Gibbons, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	"—James Ouchterlony, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	"—C. Jay, Esq.	"	1	5	0

Date.		For	£	s.	d.
1873.	Brought forward		232	1	6
Mar. 17.	—J. Matthews, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" —S. P. Low, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 18.—Abbas S. Tyabjee, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —Nuzzer M. Futchally, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —Sir T. E. Colebrooke, M.P.	"	1	5	0
"	" —H. R. Henderson, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —R. C. Saunders, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —Dr. A. Graham	"	1	5	0
"	" 19.—Hafiz Ahmad Hassan, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 20.—Hugh Mason, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 21.—Anderjee Cowasjee, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —J. Farley Leith, Esq., M.P.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" —H. W. Freeland, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" 24.—Col. H. L. Evans	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" —C. Sabapathi Iyah, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" —P. Venkatakrishnama Naidoo, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —T. L. Wilson, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 25.—George Turnbull, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —George Appleton, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 26.—S. G. Grady, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —Col. W. Gray, M.P.	"	1	5	0
"	" 27.—George Noble Taylor, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" 31.—John Jones, Esq.	"	1	5	0
April 1.	—Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Esq.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" —J. Stansfeld, Esq., M.P.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	" 2.—Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	1874	1	5	0
"	" —Sir Charles Wingfield, M.P.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" 3.—P. B. Smollett, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" 9.—Lord F. C. Cavendish, M.P.	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" —P. C. Venkatachella Chetty, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" 16.—R. H. Elliot, Esq.	1872	1	5	0
"	" 17.—T. Horsman Coles, Esq.	1873	1	5	0
"	" —F. W. Chesson, Esq.	"	1	5	0
"	" —Col. G. A. Searle	"	1	5	0
"	" —General Sir G. Le G. Jacob	1872-73	2	10	0
"	" —Emerson Dawson, Esq.	"	2	10	0
"	" —William Dent, Esq.	"	2	10	0
"	" 18.—A. Cursetjee, Esq.	1871-73	3	15	0
"	" —Hafiz Sudrool Islam Khan Bahadoor	1873	1	5	7
"	" 19.—Colonel Thomas Stock	"	1	5	0
"	" 23.—Colonel J. A. Brereton	"	1	5	0
			<hr/> £298 7 1 <hr/>		

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT, from May 1, 1872, to April 30, 1873.

RECEIPTS.

DR.	1872.	£	s.	d.	1873.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.	CR.
May 1.—	To BALANCE at Messrs. Grindlay and Co.'s			63	12	3				£ s. d.
"	To Remittances from Bombay Branch:									
"	21.—Bill on Chartered Bank of India, Australia,									
	and China	100	0	0		Printing.....				
Aug. 8.—	Order on National Bank of India	100	0	0		" Printing Indian Debates	264	17	2	
	To Interest on Invested Donations:—					" Salaries, Office Expenses,	24	3	6	
	Received from New Bank of Bombay (Limited)					&c.	241	11	8	
June 3.—	Do. from National Bank of India Interest					Rent	150	0	0	
	for 291 days at 4 per cent. on £430 8s. 3d.					Stationery.....	20	17	3	
Aug. 8.—	Do. from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as a Loan					Newspapers.....	14	17	3	
	Do. on Account of Advertisements.....					Freight	10	12	2	
1873.						" Paragraining	4	4	0	
April 30.—	Sales of Journal and Indian Debates					Subscription returned				731 3 0
	To Subscription Account:—					By BALANCE at Messrs. Grindlay & Co.'s	98	2	4	1 5 0
April 30.—	Received as Subs. from Resident Members					In Hand	0	5	11	98 8 3
	as per preceding List, since May 1, 1872..									£830 16 3
		298	7	1						

BALANCE SHEET, End of April, 1873.

ASSETS IN LONDON.

	£	s.	d.
National Bank of India (Limited): Fixed Deposit	430	8	3
Furniture and Fixtures—London	130	0	0
Do. do. Bombay	15	0	0
Library	30	0	0
Local Outstandings for Advertisements	17	3	6
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	98	8	3
Balance of General Account	50	19	3
	<u>£771</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers, and found correct.

F. P. GORDON,
GEORGE A. SEARLE, Lieut-Col. } Auditors.

August 5, 1873.

W. C. PALMER, Acting Hon. Secretary.

RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 11., or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 107., which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage) £1 5 0
 Life Subscription ditto ditto 14 0 0
 Annual Subscription (including Journal), in India..... 13 Rupees 8 Annas.
 Life Subscription ditto ditto..... 150 „

III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty-three Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE PROMOTION OF ALL PUBLIC INTERESTS OF INDIA,

20, GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON S.W.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD LYVEDEN, G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents.

The Most Noble the Marquis of SALISBURY,
P.C., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.

The Right Hon. the Earl of SHAFTESBURY,
K.G., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., &c.

Right Hon. JAMES STANSFELD, P.C.,
M.P.

General Right Hon. Lord SANDHURST,
G.C.B., G.C.S.I., P.C.

General Lord STRATHNATH, G.C.B.,
G.C.S.I., Member of H.M.'s Most
Honourable Privy Council of Ireland.

Lord WM. MONTAGU HAY, F.R.G.S.,
M.R.A.S.

Major-General Sir HENRY RAWLINSON,
K.C.B., K.C.S.I., &c.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart., Governor of
South Australia, P.C.

Sir CHARLES EDWARD TREVELYAN, K.C.B.,
F.R.G.S., &c.

His Highness the Rao of KUTOH, G.C.S.I.

His Highness the Nawab of JOONAGHUR,
K.C.S.I.

COUNCIL, 1872-73.

Chairman—E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Chairman—Sir CHARLES JOHN WINGFIELD, K.C.S.I., C.B., M.P., &c.

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DADABHAI NAOROJI, Esq., Hon. Secretary.

CHRISTOPHER B. DENISON, Esq., M.P.

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F.A.S.L., &c.

Acting Honorary Secretary.

Captain WILLIAM CHARLES PALMER.

Honorary Solicitor.

T. LUXMORE WILSON, Esq.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, THURSDAY, DEC. 18, 1873.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by W. TAYLER, Esq., late Commissioner of Patna.

Famines in India: their Remedy and Prevention.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held in the Theatre of the Society of Arts (kindly lent by the Council), on Thursday evening, December 18, 1873; the subject for consideration being an address delivered by Mr. W. Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna, on "Famines in India: their Remedy and Prevention." E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were: The Hon. J. Randolph Clay, Major-General F. C. Cotton, R.E., C.S.I., Surgeon-Major Atchison, Colonels Rathborne, Stock, Cumming, Evans, Corbett, Lichfield; Major Evans Bell, Captains Gibson and Palmer (Hon. Sec.); Messrs. John Bruce Norton, P. B. Smollett, Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, M. Coomara Swamy, P. P. Gordon, P. Amnasalam, C. Meenacshaya, Trelawney Saunders, Syed Abdoollah, Mirza Peer Bukhsh, P. M. Tait, W. T. Blair, Wm. J. Grazebrooke, J. H. Stocqueler, J. H. Lassell, Rev. F. Gell, and a large attendance of ladies.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN stated that several letters had been received from gentlemen who, for various reasons, were unable to be present; among others, Lord Napier and Ettrick, the Lord Mayor, Sir G. Balfour, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., &c. Sir George Balfour wrote: "Will you kindly bear in mind that my view is "to try and keep soul and body together until the favourable seasons "come round, and that by confining attention to this one subject we "have the best chance of success; whereas by combining two great

“ interests—public works and feeding—we run the serious danger of
 “ failure in both ? I never knew two issues in practical administration
 “ end in both being satisfactory in results ; one or other, and sometimes
 “ both, kick the beam. Public works combined with feeding the
 “ starving is incompatible. A working man must have 2 lbs. of food to
 “ do an ordinary day’s work. But this quantity is equal to a supply for
 “ eight men kept in idleness, according to my calculation, of 4 oz. ; or it
 “ is equal to the support of four men, allowing 8 oz. I need not say that
 “ I would give 8 oz. if I could carry it ; but if I know I cannot do so,
 “ then I reduce my quantity to the weight I think may be transported.
 “ With 2 lbs. of rice a-day, a ton will only feed three souls in one year ;
 “ but at the rate of 1 lb., then a ton will support six souls for one year,
 “ and necessarily twelve souls on 8 oz., and twenty-four souls on 4 oz.
 “ Just look at the vast difference there is in transport at these different
 “ rates. Supposing 2,400,000 souls to be fed to save from death, the
 “ rest of the population being able to buy food,—

“ 2,400,000 souls on 2 lbs. will need 800,000 tons.

“ 2,400,000 „ 1 lb. „ 400,000 „

“ 2,400,000 „ 8 oz. „ 200,000 „

“ 2,400,000 „ 4 oz. „ 100,000 „

“ The whole question turns on transport. Mr. Mackenzie (a writer
 “ in the *Times* of Dec. 9) says that all Bengal will, when dried up,
 “ present a hard level surface, on which carts and bullocks can go
 “ with ease. But this is the fatal mistake in all the letters I have
 “ seen. In famines in the East, it is a famine for both man and
 “ beast, and bullocks cannot travel without forage. It is the impossi-
 “ bility of having food transported that we have to consider. Therefore
 “ I urge perfect quiet in order to lessen the calls for transport. I give
 “ what I can, not what I would desire to give. I am struck with our
 “ ignorance of Bengal statistics. We know the areas and the popula-
 “ tion ; we also suppose the latter to have sprung up from forty-two
 “ millions to sixty millions ; but we do not know how much land was
 “ under cultivation. I take it that at least three hundred acres in the
 “ square mile of the area to have been necessarily under rice, and that
 “ we have to deal with a total area of two hundred thousand square
 “ miles over which the sixty millions are spread. We have thus
 “ sixty millions of acres cultivated with food, or nearly one acre of food
 “ cultivated to each soul. But this one acre yields 1,200 lbs. of rice
 “ = 2,400 lbs. of paddy ; and as each soul only needs, on an average of
 “ men, women, and children, about 1 lb. in the day, or 365 lbs. in the
 “ year, we have thus a surplus of about 800 lbs. of rice over the whole
 “ area of Bengal. This is a vague calculation, but it is better than any

"I have seen published. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that there ought to be sufficient food within the famine area, provided it could be distributed to the needed places. It thus comes back to transport. . . I hope you will not forget the necessity of providing for the cattle. If you once allow these animals, needed for agriculture, to die off, you will require years to replace them, and necessarily you will also then have the land insufficiently cultivated and famine rife. I hear people saying that this is easy to effect; but my county, which suffered from the cattle plague and lost many animals, has not yet recovered the loss, though all parts of the world are open, and the farmers anxious to make up their stock. Don't forget that we never had fifty thousand souls to feed before Sebastopol, and yet, with ample supplies within eight miles, we failed in our transports."

Mr. James Bruce also wrote to ask that the following suggestion might be laid before the meeting: "That the Natives of Bengal should learn, through this year's drought, to manure their lands on scientific principles, by the which they may be rendered, in a very great measure, independent of rain, until the proper season for such arrives. This is best done by forming salt and chalk or lime into bricks, which form muriate of lime, with a little soda, and, being used as a top dressing for all lands, is always attracting moisture from the air, and supplying food to the plants. It is a powerful fertiliser, and destroys all insects which in drought devour the usual crops. I am aware," added Mr. Bruce, "that there is one objection to my suggestion, and that is the salt-tax; but surely this might be remitted when used with chalk or lime for agricultural purposes?"

The CHAIRMAN said: Before I call upon Mr. Tayler to read his paper, I would just say that if the importance of a subject is to be measured by the number of human beings interested in it, and the extent to which they are interested, then the subject we are met to consider to-night is, without doubt, the greatest that can occupy the attention of any of us—the greatest subject of the day. Looked at as a mere question of human life, the Bengal famine dwarfs the importance even of the great war which has recently raged in Europe; for it must be remembered that this is not a question of thousands, but positively of millions of human lives. (Hear, hear.) I may also venture to explain, for the benefit of those present (although they must be few) who do not know the precise locality which is threatened with the famine, what are the precise limits of the districts affected; and these statements, I may add, have been procured from the best authorities in this country. I will for a moment draw in the mind's eye a sketch-map of the country. You know that it is the territories of the Government of

Bengal of which we speak to-night—an immense tract of country lying between the Central Provinces of India and Burmah. This immense territory is one-fourth larger than France; it is eight times as large as Ireland, with eleven times its population. This great dominion is divided into eight Provinces, which are called Regulation Provinces, and three others which are called Non-Regulation Provinces. It is of the former of which we have to speak to-night, and more particularly of three of these. They are counted in their order, beginning with Calcutta. The first is called the Presidency Division; then, going eastward, is Dacca; and the next is Chittagong. Turning to the west, you have Orissa, which suffered by the famine of 1866; and north of that, the Province of Bahar. All these Provinces, I am glad to say, are believed to be safe, not even excepting Orissa, which is understood to be abundantly provided with food. It is the other three Provinces north-east of these, with part of Benares, Goruckpore, and Mirzapore (which belong to Oude), that are affected. This tract contains a population of twenty millions of people. I may also briefly call to your mind some of the difficulties in the way of a solution of the question. I do not believe it is a question of the want of water. You will probably be surprised to hear that, so late as the 15th of August, this very territory which is threatened with famine was almost inundated with water; and a gentleman who has just returned from the locality declares that, having gone through the country at that date, he never saw it more completely inundated. But the Natives of these districts are ignorant how to use water for irrigation; and, except in the Soane works, hardly yet completed, no provision has been made for irrigation. The pressing difficulty is the supply of food; for there may probably be food in great abundance, but not such food as the people will take. Their great food is rice, and it is an immensely difficult, if not an impossible thing to induce them to take other food. Out of the sixty-five millions inhabiting the Bengal Presidency twenty-one millions are Mahomedans, it is true; but the remaining forty-four millions are Hindus, and a very large proportion of these are so bigoted that they will eat nothing but rice. Yet—and I just mention this without attempting to enter fully into it—this is quite a modern idea. The ancient Hindus ate flesh; and there is a very curious paper written by a Hindu in one of the recent numbers of the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, on the eating of the flesh of beasts, in which the writer clearly shows from the sacred writings of the Vedas and of Manu, that the canons distinctly admit the use of meat, and that even beef might be eaten by the devout Hindu. Another of the difficulties connected with the subject is the fact that the Government are very much hampered in purchasing

food by the fear lest they should by so doing prevent private traders from exerting themselves in the same direction. Hence the great apprehension of Lord Northbrook was, that when it should be known that the Government were laying in stocks of rice, the merchants would cease their exertions, seeing that the incentive had been taken from them. These points, which I have only just indicated, together with many others which require to be considered, will no doubt receive ample explanation at the hands of Mr. Tayler, whom I will now call upon to deliver his address.

Mr. W. TAYLER then delivered the following lecture :—

In offering the present paper for your consideration this evening I feel somewhat like the lion “on Afric’s desert shore,” when he heard another lion make a louder roar than himself, for I need hardly say that any observations I can offer must fall far short in interest and intrinsic value of those which have already been laid before the public by Sir Bartle Frere in his late lecture, since widely circulated by publication in the *Times*. And, indeed, I should, after that able lecture, which came upon us somewhat unexpectedly, have been disposed to decline the task I had undertaken had the subject been one of ordinary character ; but, unfortunately, it is one of such deep interest and vital importance, involves such tremendous consequences, and is connected with such a variety of collateral incidents, that there is room for twenty papers and twenty discussions. Even Sir Bartle Frere’s excellent lecture, though full and exhaustive, was followed by very little discussion, and thus we may hope that some advantage will be derived by a further consideration of the subject. The appalling calamity which is the moving cause of our meeting here, requires no sensational descriptions or harrowing details to excite our deepest sympathies. The awful reality of millions of fellow creatures sinking powerless and exhausted in the unutterable agonies of slow starvation, has been, I grieve to say, so frequently described in the vivid narratives of the leading journals of England and India, that the melancholy picture has become painfully familiar to us all. I am only tempted to quote one short passage from the pages of the *Oriental*, the December number of which appeared this morning.

The Editor, Mr. Stocqueler, thus writes :—“Five-and-thirty years ago we were on a journey in Upper India. The crops had failed—the people were starving ; human beings, birds, and cattle alike were sinking under the horrible privations of food and water. Skeletons and dead bodies, in all stages of putrefaction, lay along the road between Cawnpore and Ferozepore. Deposited by our palkee-bearers, themselves feeble and attenuated from scant sustenance, in a wretched

“ compound, contiguous to a small and nearly depopulated village, we
 “ found ourselves in the companionship of some of the most pitiable
 “ objects the eye ever encountered. Some generous individual, or more
 “ likely some agent of the Government, had sent a supply of *attah* to
 “ the place, and a woman was engaged in making it up into chuppaties
 “ and baking it for the starving people. They crawled to her on all
 “ fours, for scarcely one had strength to stand even with the aid of a
 “ crutch. Their eyes, wolfish in expression, were starting from their
 “ sockets—their limbs were withered—their long hair, filled with dust,
 “ hung about their ears in filthy flakes ; clutching at the chuppaties
 “ which the woman handed to them, they ravenously devoured the food
 “ —and in an instant their stomachs distended to bursting, and one
 “ poor creature actually fell dead before our eyes, choked in her voracious
 “ endeavour to swallow the bread without the power of mastication.
 “ Beyond the limits of the hospitable little *serai*, fearfully emaciated
 “ men, women, and children were creeping about, wailing, actually
 “ scratching the very dung of camels and horses in search of an
 “ undigested grain or two, or quietly laying themselves down to die, the
 “ victims of disease and withering starvation.

“ The awful picture drawn by Longfellow in after years was
 “ completely anticipated. The sufferers—

“ Fell, and could not rise for weakness—
 Perished there from heat and hunger.

O the famine and the fever !

O the wasting of the famine !

O the blasting of the fever !

O the wailing of the children !

O the anguish of the women !

All the earth was sick and famished ;

Hungry was the air around them,

Hungry was the sky above them ;

And the hungry stars in heaven

Like the eyes of wolves glared at them !”

The principal object, I may here observe, of this paper is, not to enhance or intensify the horrors of the event, but to place before this meeting the present position of affairs in that ill-fated country, as far as they can be ascertained by the latest accounts ; to notice the several points which have already formed subjects of discussion, and on which opinions have been placed on record by various competent and experienced individuals, and to invite in the discussion, which I hope will follow, any suggestions of those who are willing to offer them, that may bear on any practical question which presents itself to their minds. And, having done this, which touches the question of present remedies, I shall

then venture to make some observations on the still more important question of *prevention*, a subject in which I shall be aided by valuable notes and memoranda, kindly communicated to me by that high authority on such matters, Sir Arthur Cotton.

As far as we can judge, the later accounts justify us in hoping that prospects are somewhat improved since the delivery of Sir Bartle Frere's lecture. The telegram which reached London on the 10th, *i.e.*, two days before that lecture, announced that the prospects were unchanged.

But on the 16th, *i.e.*, on Tuesday last, the papers published a telegram from Calcutta, dated 15th December, from the Viceroy, which all now present have probably read, in which he details the results of his personal inspection and enquiries.

It may, perhaps, be satisfactory to read the entire telegram, as, though brief, it is pregnant with facts, and those facts to a great extent are assuring. They also speak volumes for the wisdom, vigilance, and practical sagacity of Lord Northbrook.

"CALCUTTA, Dec. 15.—I have visited Soane Canal Works, and seen " principal officers of all affected districts. Situation unchanged, except-
" ing area sown with spring crops larger than supposed, and present pros-
" pects of those crops generally satisfactory. Future depends greatly
" on Christmas rains. Measures taken to store grain in selected places.
" Every portion of Patna Division will be within easy reach of a
" Government store. I saw rice stored within 60 miles from railway ;
" transport sufficient. No relief works considered necessary yet, but
" preparations made to start them whenever required. People em-
" ployed on harvest. Ordinary labour rather diminished on Soane
" Canal. Mr. Levinge, chief engineer, deserves great credit ; has opened
" works provisionally, and irrigated 120,000 acres. Zemindars and
" planters are assisting Government. Preservation of cattle occasions
" anxiety. All officers doing duty admirably, and consider precautions
" sufficient. Large supplies of grain available in North-West and Pun-
" jab. Part of Oude causes anxiety. Provision made for full number
" of persons who, judging by past experience and present estimate of
" responsible officers, may resort to relief works, or require gratuitous
" relief."

One of the principal grounds of consolation and confidence in the present crisis is the remarkable coincidence that in the present Viceroy and Lt.-Governor of Bengal, we have two individuals, exceptionally qualified, by their ability, sense, and energy, to grapple with the present distress and do battle with the famine ; but on one point—*viz.*, the question of exports—they differ, and the last accounts exhibit an increasing anxiety on the part of many for the prohibition of export—a

measure which Sir George Campbell advocates and the Viceroy disapproves.

This intelligence has led the *Times* to adopt a more decided tone as to the expediency of the prohibition, and the inapplicability of "economical laws," a question which has also brought the great authority *Punch* into the field.

Other difficulties, too, have been started: for instance, while one writer has pointed out that the drought will, by hardening the surface of the soil, facilitate the transport of grain in the numberless country carts, another has replied that carts cannot move without bullocks, and that before many days elapse from the commencement of the famine, all that will remain of bullocks will be "bones." Perhaps the most interesting item is the reprint of a native "prayer which has been copied into "the papers," exhibiting the instinctive dependence of man, spite of all intermediate corruptions of superstition or idolatry, on the one God, the Supreme and ultimate Ruler of the universe.

The latest telegram, also, is reassuring to some extent:—

"CALCUTTA, Dec. 17.—The Viceroy, after visiting the Soane Works, "has addressed to Sir G. Campbell a very warm eulogy for the excellence of his relief arrangements and appointment of officers.

"In Behar and Rajshaye, prospects are unchanged since Sir G. Campbell's excellent circular of the 17th of November, except that "more land is under spring crops and the sowings are satisfactory.

"The present condition of the country is the same as in December, "1865. For the future, we must await the Christmas rain.

"The Shahabad zemindars are asking for advances.

"The planters are rendering great assistance.

"The Viceroy has under consideration a law providing that land-lords should stand security for the repayment of State advances to "cultivators.

"Private trade from the West is active.

"All officers are convinced that the Government orders and precautions are adequate."

Having now laid before you a brief summary of the latest accounts, and not wishing to travel over the same ground in regard to general questions, already so ably explained and analysed by Sir Bartle Frere, I will content myself with bringing into juxtaposition and comparison the views and opinions which have, as all here may probably have observed, been set forth by several distinguished individuals in the principal journals.

Fully alive to the unquestionable fact that the authorities on the spot are those on whom the burden and responsibility of action lies, and

that anything in the shape of dictation from the outside world to such pre-eminently able functionaries as Lord Northbrook and Sir G. Campbell would be unwise, if not presumptuous, I yet feel that full public discussion may possibly elicit ideas and suggestions, valuable in themselves, and worthy of acceptance even by the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and local governors; and I cannot here refrain from noting, as well worthy of consideration on this point, the observations recorded in the leading article of the *Times* of the 13th inst., in commenting on Sir Bartle Frere's lecture, viz., "that no official action or belief in official action must lead us to forget that, on former occasions, famines which might have been prevented were allowed to run their course, and that the public confidence in public men was not by any means weak when the calamities which brought shame upon us as a nation, resulted from official inefficiency and neglect." It appears, also, not unbecoming or inappropriate that, as members of an Association sincerely desirous, on all legitimate occasions, of furthering the true interests of India, we should not only endeavour to elicit such discussions, but also exhibit and record our deep sympathy with the unhappy beings who are doomed to suffer, though, if the exertions of Great Britain can avert their fate, not, I trust, to perish.

In considering, then, the remedy for the present disastrous state of affairs, and not at present touching on the means of future and permanent *prevention*, which is a separate subject, I observe that two alternatives have been prominently placed before us by competent and distinguished men—whose experience and abilities entitle them to the greatest respect—viz., Sir Arthur Cotton and Sir George Balfour. The one, Sir Arthur Cotton, warmly advocates the organization of extensive relief works; the other, Sir George Balfour, deprecates all works of the kind, and strongly recommends that the villagers should be kept in their homes and be fed with conjee or rice-gruel. The ground of the latter recommendation is, that with men, women, and children sitting quietly in their houses, life can be sustained by a much smaller quantum of food than is required during physical exertion; and in support of this view Sir George Balfour adduces facts which have occurred in his own experience, and under his own eyes, in India. There is, undoubtedly, much to be said on both sides, but it appears to me that the truth lies, as it usually does, in the *via media* between the two extremes, that the sedentary and gruel system should be adopted with the old, the very young, and the sickly, the working system with the healthy and robust. If men and women emaciated with hunger are employed on the relief works, the result may doubtless be as Sir George Balfour describes, that many men might be seen with food in their hands quietly fall down

and die; but if common sense and ordinary judgment are used in the early days of the relief organization, such men will never be found upon the works at all, but will be kept in their villages.

With regard to the extent of the works, and the multitude of hands required, Sir G. Balfour holds that, in regard to Bengal, "the most efficient and skilful organizer would shrink from the attempt;" and he further says that it is "utterly impossible to direct a million of untrained men." These statements are doubtless well worthy of consideration, coming as they do from the pen of so able and experienced an officer as Sir G. Balfour, but I confess that, as far as I am myself concerned, I turn with greater satisfaction to the following more hopeful paragraph in the letter of Sir Arthur Cotton, on the 11th ult., in which he says:—"A system of public works must be marked out throughout the whole tract for the employment of multitudes. This is essential, not only for economy, but also to find occupation for the people. Happily, in this case we have one vast system of works on hand already, extending from Allahabad to near Rajmahal, and another—completely planned, though not begun—from Rajmahal to Calcutta—that is, through the whole length of the suffering country. The estimates for these works are 6,000,000*l.*, a very large proportion of the whole being earthwork, on which every man, woman, and child can be employed. If this is effectively managed, it will go far to convert an awful temporary calamity into a permanent blessing, by affording both irrigation and water carriage to all this tract, and thereby provide the only effectual means of preventing future famines."

I do not find that any of the writers who have given their opinions to the public coincide with Sir G. Balfour in discountenancing relief works, excepting Sir Charles Trevelyan—himself no mean authority—who deduces his conclusions from the incidents of the Irish famine. The sentiments expressed by Sir C. Trevelyan in his letter to the *Times*, were reiterated in his late speech at the meeting of the Society of Arts. But it is perhaps superfluous and unprofitable to prolong the discussion on this particular point at present, as the question has already been practically decided by the Government of India and Bengal, and the extreme importance of early organization has been well expressed by the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal in the following words:—"To render effectual aid to the people, it is of all things most necessary that work should be in good time, so that the existence of public works may be known to the people at large, and those who stand in need of work may find their way to the work, and be suitably provided for before the greatest stress comes. All

“ experience shows that work is useful to avert starvation rather than
 “ to save people already half-starved and unfit for work, and it takes
 “ time to draw to public works people who are not accustomed to
 “ labour for hire. In this view, in case of reasonable apprehension
 “ of scarcity, we can hardly begin too soon.”

This brief but pithy view of the work question appears to me to hit precisely the vital point, to anticipate the objections made, and place the whole subject on its right footing—viz., work with food for the strong—food only for the weak and incapable.

Another interesting question to which I have already referred is the expediency or in expediency of prohibiting the exportation of grain. On this question Lord Northbrook and Sir George Campbell are at issue. Sir George strongly urges the prohibition, and is supported by the zemindars of Bengal, who appear to have made an urgent appeal to the Viceroy on the subject. This prohibition is also advocated in the leading columns of the *Times* of November 27, but Lord Northbrook has hitherto refused to issue the order, and his view is ably seconded by Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Charles Trevelyan, in letters addressed to that journal, as well as in their speeches at the late meeting. This, then, is a subject on which free and open discussion may be useful, for it cannot be regarded as finally and irrevocably settled, as is the question of labour *v.* conjee. Lord Northbrook may possibly be induced to change his opinion, and suggestions may possibly be made to accelerate such results. To my mind, the prohibition is not at present necessary, and glad as we all may be to hear both sides of the question, I should regret to find that the Viceroy had been induced to retract or modify his decision.

A third proposal which has been mooted is the establishment of public granaries. This proposal has been brought forward by a highly intelligent member of this Association, Mr. Robert Elliot, who is himself a proprietor of land in the Madras Presidency, and has for several years been distinguished by the interest which he has shown in the welfare and interest of the people.

In his estimation, “ Public Granaries ” are the only remedy for recurring famine, but I do not find that this view is supported by any writer of authority; on the other hand, the project is strongly discountenanced by Sir Bartle Frere, who thus writes in an able letter to the *Times*: — “ High authorities, both in your columns and
 “ elsewhere, urge Government to return to the system of the
 “ Pharaohs, and to establish Government granaries on a large scale,
 “ where the surplus grain of good years may be stored against the ne-
 “ cessities of bad ones. There is much that is plausible in the sugges-

"tion, but I am convinced it is entirely in the wrong direction. I have seen a good deal of Government granaries, of the kind described, when they were universal in a population half as large as that of Ireland, where they had been in use for ages, and careful observation has convinced me that there was no greater source of oppression, derangement of natural food supply, injustice, bad and dear food, and well-deserved unpopularity of the Government. These results are inseparable from any system which has to be worked by a despotic Government, with agents and people who are accustomed to despotism. Neither Government agents nor people can understand or practise the only principle of patriarchal care for the poor, by which the storage of grain by Government could be rendered free from oppression and injustice, such as must aggravate, instead of diminish the evils of scarcity, while an attempt to introduce Government granaries is fatal to the only system of storage which can be really effectual in preserving the surplus of one crop to meet deficiencies of another—I mean the system of storage by private traders. The much-abused Indian banyan, mahajun, or grain dealer, under whatever name he may be called, is, with all his faults, the only real Pharaoh who in these days can imitate the example of the Egyptian sovereign and his Israelite minister."

I confess I fully concur in these observations, and have little apprehension that any such obsolete measure will, in the 19th century, be adopted. It is just possible that I may be prejudiced in this matter, from having lived for many years at Patna, a city and province with which I have had some slight official connection in days gone by. Patna, celebrated for many things, has for years been conspicuous for its possession of a monstrous structure, visible for miles from the river and surrounding country, which was intended originally as a public granary, long since known as "Garstin's Folly," a compliment to one Colonel Garstin, who, imbued with the ideas now re-produced by Mr. Elliot and others, projected, and, I believe, designed the gigantic building.

That it was in its principle and purpose a failure, there can be little doubt, though I have never been able to ascertain any particulars of the experiments which led to this result.

The popular tradition is that it was discovered that so large a quantity of grain if heaped together, would ferment, and blow the building into the air; and a still greater absurdity in the mouth of the popular humourist is, that the small door, which is at the base of the granary, being made to open inwards, when the vast recess was filled, as was necessary, from the top, could not be opened, and was henceforth christened as the "Folly."

Whether these awkward discoveries were the real cause of the failure

and consequent disuse of the granary, or whether its practical inutility was ascertained by more prosaic experiments, I cannot say, but the monster structure has for many years remained a standing monument of ill-considered masonry, and now principally noted for the fact that Jung Bahadoor, when he visited the station, rode up and down the steep staircase which winds round the exterior of the building. With such an unexceptionable witness against Mr. Elliot's "Claimant," I have little doubt as to the verdict of the jury.

I am not aware that any other specific remedies for the present distress have been suggested, and I therefore pass on to the second head of my paper, one more important even than the question of remedy for the evil that is upon us, viz., the question of prevention. In describing this part of my subject as more important than the other, I by no means wish to underrate the awful exigencies against which we have to provide; but if twenty-five millions are affected by the present scarcity, a million times twenty-five millions may, in the boundless area of the unknown future, be rescued from starvation by a system of permanent prevention.

Now, in considering the question of future prevention, I believe we shall all agree that one thing is needful. Need I say that it is irrigation, including water transit. And here, when entering upon this portion of the subject, I cannot refrain from referring to the systematic and unceasing exertions of a public officer who has for years past, in season and out of season, against some professional antagonism, much official opposition, the sneers of the ignorant, and the apathy of the unimaginative, enthusiastically advocated the organization of these two essential objects, as necessary for the prevention of famine, and the prosperity of the people—need I say that I refer to Sir Arthur Cotton, the great water champion of India.

Amidst the universal admiration and respect which the name of Sir Arthur Cotton must ever inspire, there are some, I am well aware, who dispute his calculations as those of an enthusiast, and therefore not reliable. Entertaining, as I do, the most sincere admiration of that quality of mind which the world calls enthusiasm, and believing it to be at the bottom of all true philanthropy, and the essence of all genuine greatness, I do not care to take up the cudgels in defence of one who can so well defend himself, but I think it will be appropriate and not uninteresting at a crisis like the present, to point to the remarkable progress which the cause of Sir Arthur's zealous advocacy has made, in spite of all obstacles, in the course of the last few years. And it is perhaps the more allowable to me to feel some satisfaction in this, because I have exerted myself for more than eight years past to support with such means as were available, and on all opportunities which offered

themselves, the efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton in the great and now triumphant cause of water.

I wish here to take the liberty of quoting a few words at the opening of a leading article written by me in the *Pioneer* in 1865 :—

Extract from the Pioneer.

That "knowledge is power" is a world-wide proverb, and is true in every clime and country under the sun; that "water is wealth," though not so universally applicable, is *par excellence* the axiom which, in India, principalities and powers should take to their heart and ponder without ceasing. Desolating droughts, periodical famines, the depopulation of districts, and wide-spread national distress—all such awful visitations, humanly speaking, it is in the power of a wise and far-seeing ruler in India to forestall. With an exuberant and teeming soil, and industrious population, and all appliances of culture and production in abundance, it is water, and water alone, that is required to make plenteousness and prosperity a mathematical certainty; stave off those periodical disasters which spread desolation and woe over the hearths of the starving masses, give buoyancy and permanence to the Imperial revenue, and in the course of time effect that happy consummation "devoutly to be wished," under which some portion at least of the lower millions may be raised above the pinching demands and grovelling embarrassments of empty stomachs. While thus the material, and more remotely the moral, welfare of India may be said to be borne on the bosom of the waters justifying the Hindoo apotheosis of the mighty Gunga, that noble river and its numerous compeers are, year by year, sending forth their vast volumes of water unprofitably to the sea, occasionally showing before our benighted eyes what their fertilizing streams can do, by painting the barren land upon their banks with vivid green and luxuriant vegetation. One effort only on this side of India—and that not a very successful one—has been made by the State to utilize these grand and inexhaustible supplies; and we are not surprised to find that—now that the Government has leisure to think—the attention of all Indian statesmen is directed to the great subject of irrigation.

At the time these lines were written, the principle touched upon was but partially recognized, and Sir Arthur Cotton's "thorough" theory of universal, or semi-universal irrigation met with much opposition.

But times have changed. Enthusiasm has not yet accomplished its entire object, but has secured results which are almost sufficient to satisfy one who has been declared to have water in his head, but has certainly never allowed cold water to be thrown upon his exertions; and as a proof of this, I will here quote a few paragraphs from the excellent

work lately published by Colonel Chesney, an author who, if not an opponent, is certainly not a partizan of Sir Arthur Cotton :—

“But the surpassing value of irrigation in India is to be found in the insurance it effects against the horrors of famine. Twice within the last thirty years have the rains failed in the plains of the Upper Ganges. For the last seven years Western India has suffered under the calamity of successive deficient harvests, producing an enormous rise of prices, which would, with a less frugal race, have caused extreme distress. The great famine of 1866, although experienced in greatest intensity in Orissa, extended, with more or less severity, from the Ganges to the extreme south of the peninsula, and the sufferings which it created must have been undergone by from fifty to sixty millions of persons. In 1869 a large part of India was again afflicted with extreme drought, producing, in many extensive regions, all the miseries of famine, and involving a large public outlay to keep the starving poor alive. It is to prevent, or, at any rate, to alleviate, the effects of these awful calamities, that irrigation works are needed in India. Even as an insurance against the direct loss of the land-revenue, which must necessarily be foregone when the people have no crops to sell, such works are at once extraordinarily remunerative to the State. The famine of 1837-8 involved a direct loss of £500,000 sterling on this head; the Ganges Canal is estimated to have prevented at least as much during the famine of 1861. Yet the direct saving in land-revenue is obviously only a part of the saving which thus accrues. A great calamity of this kind cannot fall on a country without paralyzing the whole course of trade and business, and the effect must necessarily make itself felt in every branch of the national revenue. The loss of public revenue, again, is but small compared with the destruction of national wealth resulting; and this it must be the duty of the Government, as representing the interests of the general community, so far as possible, to prevent. And, after all, the loss of wealth, whether public or private, is surely but the lowest ground on which to base the argument for active measures. The prevention of the miseries of famine should alone be a sufficient, as it ought to be the leading, motive to action. It is not as if the affair were a speculative one, and that the question were one of possible calamities and doubtful remedies. Droughts have occurred in India so frequently that their occurrence before long, in some part or other of the country, is reasonably to be expected; and famine, as the certain effect of drought, *can be prevented by irrigation*. Here, then, is clearly one of the most important duties that can be placed before the government of any state. The task is one that only the Govern-

"ment can undertake; for it is not merely to carry out projects which promise to be remunerative in the ordinary sense of the word, it is to extend irrigation, wheresoever irrigation may be possible, throughout the country. Till that is done, and the danger of famine has been guarded against to the fullest possible extent, the English in India may replace anarchy by peace, and may distribute equal justice, and remove ignorance; but it cannot be said that they fulfilled their whole duty by the people of the country."

And, to follow out this principle, at last so auspiciously established, I would wish to lay before you a few of those calculations which, as I am aware, are held to be too favourable, as the offspring of an irrepressible enthusiasm, but which, even allowing a considerable "enthusiastic" margin, are worthy of especial note and careful attention, being in the highest degree encouraging to a benevolent and enlightened Government.

These calculations have been furnished me by Sir Arthur Cotton. They are connected with all the principal irrigation works in the several Presidencies of British India—viz., the Cauvery, the Godavery, the Toombuddra, and the Kistna, in Madras; in Orissa: the Soane Canal. Ganges Canal, and Baree Doab Canal.

"RESULTS OF IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION.

"*Tanjore, the Delta of the Cauvery.*"

"There had been an extensive system of irrigation in Tanjore from ancient times, but in 1827 there began to be great alarm about the state of this district, and it was seriously feared that the Cauvery branch of the river might entirely desert the district, the whole water of the Upper Canvery flowing to the sea, by the larger branch, the Collereon. It was in consequence of this alarm that a complete new system of works was commenced on the 1st January, 1830, intended not only to prevent the evils feared, but also to put the whole system of irrigation in a far more perfect state, both as respects supply and area than it had been before. The whole expenditure during the forty-three years past has been very small. During the first seven years of this period, only 11,000*l.* a year was spent, including repairs, so that the new works could not have cost above 50,000*l.* in that time. They have been continued ever since at intervals, but I have no statement of the total cost. It may have been at a cost of 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.* The improvement of the district has been unbroken, and not only has there been no famine in the Delta, but it has constantly supplied neighbouring districts in times of scarcity in them.

"As an indication of the prosperity of the district, the revenue has

“ increased from 420,000*l.* in 1880 to 720,000*l.* at present, an increase of 300,000*l.* a-year, by far the greater portion of this undoubtedly directly or indirectly due to the improved irrigation, an annual revenue representing a capital of 5,000,000*l.* But this, of course, is a very small part of the profit from the irrigation expenditure. The increase of tax on watered land compared with unwatered may be taken at 3½ rupees, and the increased value of produce may be estimated at 20 rupees, so that the benefit to the cultivator is about five times that which goes into the Treasury.

“ In estimating the results of capital invested by Government in public works, the first point always is, What is the total direct return in money to the community? and quite a secondary one, What are the direct or indirect returns into the Treasury? It is of the utmost importance that this should be always kept in view. The case is quite different from that of a private speculation.

“ In that case if a work does not return a fair interest to the investors, whatever the public benefit may have been, it is complete loss to the company; but if through any circumstances a work does not return net 5 per cent. to Government, but at the same time benefits the people to the extent of 20 or 30 per cent., it is really an immense benefit to the country, and even to the Treasury, because it is impossible to enrich the people without all the different items of the revenue increasing.

“ But there is no system of internal navigation connected with these irrigation works, so that the district has been entirely without the additional enormous benefit of cheap transit, a complete system of which could hardly have saved the district less than 250,000*l.* a-year, one-third of the amount of the taxes, but probably much more.

“ The cost of carriage on the high road forty years ago was 1,200*l.* a mile at one point, and it can hardly be less than four times that now, or 5,000*l.* a-year, and allowing 300 miles of main road, and half the above for the average, the saving would amount to 750,000*l.* at land-rates, 4*d.* a-ton a-mile, nine-tenths of which would be saved in steam-boat canals. The next district in which a new system of irrigation was introduced was Godavery, and here navigation was included. The results here, I think, must be greater than those of any other engineering works in the world. The works have never been completed, but up to this time only 480,000 acres have been irrigated out of about 1,000,000 in the Delta. But I am happy to say they have now put in hand the completion of them in a most satisfactory way, the complaint of the Government being that the money provided has not been all spent. About 70,000*l.* a-year, however, is spent, and at this

" rate the sum estimated to complete the whole system, 400,000⁴l., will
 " be expended in about three years or more. This will make the total
 " cost of irrigating 1,000,000 acres about 1,000,000l. sterling. But that
 " contemplates a far more complete system of irrigation, navigation, and
 " drainage, than I thought of when the works were begun. It will pro-
 " vide about 700 miles of excellent navigation, with locks 120 × 20; so
 " that no tract of country in the world could equal it either in irrigation
 " or transit.

" We estimate the increase of produce alone at 2l. per acre for a
 " single crop, which is 200 per cent. on the outlay, and this is besides
 " the cheap transit, the effect of which is beyond all calculation.

" If only 100,000 tons a-year are carried on an average, and the
 " saving is 3d. a-ton a-mile, it would be a total of 900,000l. a-year,
 " which would be equal to another 90 per cent. on the outlay, and this
 " is besides the passenger transit, which is of course the very life of the
 " district. Again, the price of rice is expected to rise to 1½d. a-lb. in
 " Bengal, and allowing 1,200 lbs. as the produce per acre, and 1¼d. for
 " value of rice deducting carriage to Bengal, one crop would be worth 6l.,
 " or six times the whole cost of all the works, so that in a famine year the
 " whole would be paid six times over by a single crop. This would
 " give some idea of the utter insignificance of the costs of these
 " works compared with their effects. With respect to the returns to
 " Government, the water rate now paid is Rs.4 per acre, or 40 per
 " cent. on the cost of the works, besides tolls and the increase of the
 " taxes. The total increase of the revenue of the district has been
 " from 220,000l. to 520,000l., or nearly 140 per cent., 300,000l. on an
 " outlay up to this time of 600,000l., 50 per cent. Certainly almost
 " the whole is due directly and indirectly to the works. Thus, in respect
 " of direct returns to Government, this is perhaps the most profitable
 " engineering work in the world, excepting the adjoining district works—
 " those of Kistna. With reference to famine, there has not been the
 " smallest fear of the district for the twenty-five years since the works
 " were begun, and it secures a vast extent of the surrounding country
 " and it will, I hope, produce no inconsiderable supply for the distressed
 " districts in Bengal this season. And these works yet admit of a further
 " improvement. Though there is water in the canals all the year, yet
 " they cannot nearly be kept full in the dry season. If water were stored
 " in the Upper Godavery, not only would 500 miles of that river and
 " the Wurdah be kept in an effective state for navigation in the dry
 " season, but the water would be of great value in the Delta, both for
 " improved navigation, and for extension of the second crop cultivation.
 " This water could be supplied at a very moderate cost. But without

“ this, if 1,000,000 acres are irrigated, the water-rate alone will be
 “ 400,000*l.* a-year, and with the increase in other taxes, there will be a
 “ revenue of 750,000*l.* a-year, and this district, one of the lowest in
 “ India in revenue, will be at the head of all the districts of India. It and
 “ the Kistna have now only one district above them, Tanjore; they are
 “ about equal: some years one of them is a little higher than the other,
 “ and other years it is the other that is highest. The fact to be
 “ considered is, that, not only has famine been prevented, but the increase
 “ of produce on a million of acres will be 2,000,000*l.* a-year, and another
 “ 1,000,000*l.* will be saved in transit, making an increase of wealth
 “ of 3,000,000*l.* a-year, in one district out of about 200, while the whole
 “ of the taxes paid by it would be 750,000*l.*; so that abolishing
 “ all taxes would be a small boon compared with these works,
 “ for which the people in the district have paid nothing, the increase of
 “ wealth being four times the whole amount of taxation. If the same
 “ were done in all districts, it would add 600,000,000*l.* a-year to the
 “ wealth of India, *fifteen times* the whole amount of taxes, omitting the
 “ opium revenue, which is not paid by India.

“ *Kistna District.*

“ This is exactly a similar case to that of Godavery. The
 “ works were projected by Colonel Lake, of Kars. The expendi-
 “ ture has not been so great; indeed, I believe, up to this time, not
 “ much more than half that of Godavery, or about 300,000*l.*, while the
 “ increase of produce per acre is estimated higher there on account of
 “ the superior fertility of the soil, owing no doubt to the Kistna flowing
 “ through a limestone country. By the last return I have seen 200,000
 “ acres were watered, giving an increase of perhaps 2*l.* 10*s.* per acre, or
 “ 500,000*l.* a-year, 170 per cent. on the outlay, besides cheap transit.
 “ But the works are in a much more backward state than those of the
 “ Godavery. They have now also recommenced upon these works, and
 “ are carrying them out vigorously. When completed, the results will
 “ be fully equal to those of the Godavery. The returns to Government
 “ are much higher than those of the above district, for the total in-
 “ crease of revenue is nearly or quite equal to the Godavery. The direct
 “ returns in water-rate on 200,000 acres at Rs.4, 80,000*l.*, is 27 per
 “ cent., besides tolls. There has been most grievous mismanagement in
 “ not completing these works. It is now nearly twenty years since the
 “ great Weir and other main works were completed, and the water has
 “ not yet been distributed to one-fifth of the rich land commanded.
 “ What can be more unaccountable than this—that works which from
 “ the very first have yielded such enormous results are left for many

“ years a quarter finished, and nothing could induce the Government
 “ to grant the money for their completion. The increase on the whole
 “ of these two Delta works is as follows :—

“ Revenue of tract now forming Godavery and

“ Kistna Districts before the works £503,000

“ Ditto average of last two years, 1872-73 1,065,000

“ Increase..... £562,000

“ The expenditure to this time is 900,000*l.*, on which the increase is
 “ 60 per cent. Or the increase represents a capital of 10,000,000*l.*,
 “ more than ten times the cost of the works. These are the returns to
 “ the Treasury.

“ The Toombuddra Works.

“ These are the Madras Irrigation Company’s Works; they have
 “ cost 1,500,000*l.*, and are now in a complete working state;
 “ but as yet only a small extent of land has been watered, through a
 “ combination of circumstances, the principal of which I am satisfied is
 “ the Government refusing to let the Company manage their own affairs
 “ and sell the water themselves. I believe this year not more than
 “ 20,000 acres, yielding 12,000*l.*, will be watered. But the project is a
 “ perfectly sound one. There is water sufficient to irrigate 400,000
 “ acres of rice, which at an increase of produce of 2*l.* 10*s.* per acre,
 “ would be 1,000,000*l.* a-year, or 65 per cent., besides the navigation of
 “ 190 miles of main canals; which if it conveyed only 100,000 tons
 “ a-year would cause a saving of 3*d.* a-ton a-mile, or 240,000*l.* a-year, or
 “ 15 per cent. additional, besides the benefits of passenger transit. Thus
 “ there is nothing wrong in the project itself, and it is certain that
 “ before long the water will be fully used. The returns to the Company
 “ would then be at Rs.6 an acre, 240,000*l.* a-year, or 15 per cent. gross,
 “ besides tolls. The cost has been about 4*l.* per acre. The canal is led
 “ through a most fertile tract of country.

“ The Orissa Works.

“ These works have cost about 1,250,000*l.* up to this time, but they
 “ are not nearly completed. They have cost about 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre, and
 “ the increase of produce is estimated at 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre, which would be
 “ 40 per cent., besides navigation. These works also have been stopped,
 “ or nearly so, though there is something doing now. But here they have
 “ had to contend with a real difficulty, which had not been thought of,
 “ that is, the people being of so low a type that they have not used the
 “ water to any extent yet. The evil influence of the zemindars has

“ greatly helped this. No doubt the difficulty will be got over before
 “ long. Had the people used the water this year, the crop on 350,000
 “ acres would have been worth, at the famine price, 7*l.* 10*s.* an acre,
 “ 2,500,000*l.* sterling, or nearly double the whole cost of the works. The
 “ most grievous mistake of all these works has been the not completing
 “ the canal communication with Calcutta, which would at this critical
 “ time have carried all their surplus produce and that from the fertile
 “ districts of the Upper Mahanuddee to the famine districts.

“ *The Soane Works.*

“ This great project, to cost ultimately nearly 4,000,000*l.*, has been
 “ vigorously carried on, and is happily so far advanced as to enable them
 “ just now to admit the water into the canal and carry life to a consider-
 “ able tract of country—the one bright gleam in the dark prospect be-
 “ fore us. I have heard of 30,000 acres being watered, and a great deal
 “ more has been reached by this time. I am in hopes that 100,000 acres
 “ will be watered this season, yielding 50,000 tons of grain, and saving
 “ the lives of half-a-million of people. About 750,000*l.* have been spent,
 “ I believe, as yet on these works. They ought to water 1,500,000 acres
 “ at least, yielding an increased produce of 2,250,000*l.*, or 60 per cent.,
 “ besides navigation; but here also every effort has been made to retard
 “ these works. A most important part of this project is that the main
 “ canal will form a part of the grand artery of water communication up
 “ the Valley of the Ganges from Allahabad to the head of the proposed
 “ Rajmahal Canal, 450 miles. The value of this work will be perfectly
 “ incalculable. There would certainly be a traffic on it of 2,000,000 tons,
 “ which, at a saving of only $\frac{1}{4}$ D. compared with the river, would be
 “ 900,000*l.* a-year on goods alone, or 22 per cent. on the cost. And there
 “ would be several hundred miles of navigable branches besides. Had
 “ this communication from Calcutta all the way to the Ganges Canal
 “ now been open, it would have essentially altered the whole face of the
 “ question of the famine, conveying any amount of grain at a nominal cost
 “ both from the North-west and from Calcutta, and so from all the world,
 “ through the very heart of the threatened districts, the branch canals
 “ distributing it throughout the tract.

“ *The Ganges Canal.*

“ This work has cost about 2,500,000*l.*, and waters now nearly
 “ 1,000,000 acres, yielding an increase of produce at 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre, of
 “ 1,500,000*l.* at 60 per cent., besides the navigation. The returns in money
 “ at Rs.2½ per acre are about 200,000*l.* at present, or 8 per cent. gross,
 “ so that it is fully paying its interest; but there is a debt of 1,000,000*l.*

“ upon it, owing to its having for many years not paid its interest. This
 “ was entirely owing to mistakes in the original project. With the ex-
 “ perience we have now had in such works, the project could certainly
 “ have been executed for 1,000,000*l.*, and it would have been yielding 15
 “ or 20 per cent. for many years. As it is, I have no doubt it will pay
 “ off its debt entirely. The benefits to the people have already been in-
 “ calculable, having greatly helped that tract of country through a
 “ famine, and it will be an inestimable help this year.

“ *The Baree Doab Works.*

“ I have not the particulars of these works, but I believe they are
 “ in a fair way of paying their interest to the Treasury, and they, like
 “ all the others, make an enormous return in increase of produce.

“ These are the principal new works. There are many others, par-
 “ ticularly in the Bombay Presidency, but smaller than these. Thus,
 “ notwithstanding the delay in using the water in two of these great
 “ works, the actual present return into the Treasury upon the whole
 “ expenditure, is certainly 12 or 15 per cent., and the actual benefits
 “ may be fairly stated at an average increase of produce of 2*l.* per acre,
 “ and an average cost of 2*l.* 10*s.*, or 80 per cent., besides cheap transit.
 “ The opponents of these valuable works have succeeded in stopping, for
 “ a time, the following:—The completion of the Kistna works; the
 “ completion of the Godavery works; the completion of the navigation
 “ from the present end of the Toombuddra Canal to the Coasta; the
 “ completion of the Upper Godavery navigation; the main Canal from
 “ Cuttack to Calcutta; the Damooda Canal; the main Western Gaana
 “ Canal; the continuation of the eastern one to Allahabad; the Tur-
 “ dale and Gunduk works on the north side of the Ganges; the
 “ Rajmahal project from Rajmahal to Calcutta; the northern canal
 “ from Calcutta to Tessore and the main Ganges, &c., &c. We may
 “ safely conclude that there is not one of them that will not cause the
 “ loss of tens of thousands of lives, for it is entirely beyond hope that
 “ if the scarcity affects ten or fifteen millions of people, many hundred
 “ thousands will perish, notwithstanding any possible efforts that may
 “ be made.

“ One would suppose that the late Governor-General and others,
 “ were they now alive, and those who are still, who have rejoiced in
 “ their success in preventing the execution of these all-important works,
 “ would now at least lament their triumph. Had these lines of com-
 “ munication been completed, the upper Godavery country, the upper
 “ Mahanuddee, Orissa, the north-west, the Madras provinces, &c.,
 “ would have been pouring in supplies into the afflicted districts, and

“immense tracts that will be adding to the general distress would have been like the Madras districts, not only in perfect plenty, but have been sending vast surplus supplies to those districts.

“Is it possible that a man can still be found who will not heartily help forward the completion of all these works, taking advantage of the multitude of labourers that such a time will place at the disposal of Government?

“I conclude with this one fact—the produce of an acre of rice, 1,200 lbs., at the famine price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., would be Rs.75, nearly twice the whole cost of the most expensive of these works, and eight times that of the cheapest, leaving out the question of life and death to both man and cattle.

“A. COTTON.”

And now, having placed before you the several questions which offer room for discussion, I would wish, on my own part, to offer some brief general observations on the whole subject.

I doubt whether since the “world that then was” was destroyed by water, any spectacle has been presented to mortal sight so awful or so appalling as that which an Indian famine exhibits. We know from Sacred Writ, and from daily observation, that “the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together with pain,” and the “mystery of suffering” is perhaps the greatest mystery with which the theologian and the philosopher have to deal; but the grave question which concerns the British nation at the present time is the extent to which we are, and shall be, held responsible for the misery and desolation which every season of scarcity inflicts upon an impoverished and uncomplaining people.

I may, perhaps, be thought guilty of presumption if I say that I reject all arguments so often adduced of the inevitable occurrence of famine in India, and assert confidently, and without reserve, that I hold the British Government responsible to a great extent for every calamity of the kind, being convinced that it is in its power to render them, speaking humanly, impossible; and I say this with the greater confidence, because I know, and rejoice in the knowledge, that the Indian Government has, after many years and much controversy, at last adopted, if not in its entirety, at least to a most assuring extent, the same conviction.

It is now exactly 100 years since that celebrated Act—known as the Act of 1773—was passed which confirmed the East India Company in its possessions, and for the first time recognized it as vested with other and more important functions than those of trade.

Just three years before the passing of that Act—viz., in 1770, we read of the most awful famine noted in history, a famine which is said

to have swept away no less than ten millions of people. To those who are sufficiently old-fashioned to recognize in all earthly affairs the overruling hand of Providence, it is not an unnatural thought that, this awful display of pre-ordained desolation may, among other causes known only to the Almighty, have been exhibited at that particular crisis when the interests of millions of foreign and semi-barbarous people were first committed to a Christian Government, partly, at least, for the purpose of showing them the extent of calamity to which the peculiar habits and position of their new subjects rendered them most readily liable, and partly as a warning to the most enlightened and scientific race in the world, of the terrible responsibility which these new dominions would entail upon their rulers, and the noble field for philanthropy and benevolence which was thus opened before them.

Possibly it may be said that this notion is imaginative, if not romantic, but the history of the world, if rightly and comprehensively viewed, and specially the history of British India, is a vast romance, not certainly to be compressed into a three-volume novel, but assuredly to be studied with curiosity and reverence. At all events, viewed practically, that great famine was an awful lesson, which the English nation might have learned, and ought to have taken to heart. It showed what a terrible thing a drought could call forth in a country where the lives of millions are dependent on a single crop, and that crop dependent on the rain of Heaven, where a starving people are unaided by the wealth of their rulers, unprotected by the resources of science. It spoke in "groanings which cannot be uttered," of the responsibility which we were undertaking, and the obligation resting upon us for the future. But the lesson was not read, or if read, only superficially studied. For many years no attempt whatever seems to have been made to guard by any preventive measures against the recurrence of such visitations; and there was this excuse: the history of British India, for many subsequent years, represents a perpetual struggle for mastery, and it was not until 1817 that the East India Company could claim the title or exert the authority of a paramount power.

From that year till 1853 the whole of the Bengal Presidency was under the control of the Governor-General, who was also *ex-officio* Governor of Bengal, and the gradual extension of territory, the frequent recurrence of war, the repeated absence of the supreme Ruler, and the vast variety of duties which fell to his lot, distracted the attention and weakened the power of the general authorities, and prevented any effective or systematic action for the improvement of the material interests of the country, or the construction of public works.

Frequently during this long interval drought, scarcity, and famine,

especially in the Madras Presidency, took place, and these continual warnings led to the partial irrigation works, which I have already described. In Bengal the serious famine of 1836 had the satisfactory effect of producing one spasmodic effort, which resulted in the commencement of the Ganges Canal, but was again interfered with, and the work was laid aside for a decade.

In 1853 a division took place in the administration. In the Bengal Presidency a responsible governor took the place of an irresponsible secretary; still nothing of importance was attempted. The system of infructuous dullardism and traditional indifference had spread itself for years like a wet blanket over Bengal, till it was rudely interrupted, and all India was convulsed by the great rebellion and mutiny of 1857.

The East India Company succumbed under this national uprising, and the empire passed into the hands of Her Majesty. And now at length, while we look back with pain and humiliation at our past neglect, we may, in hope and thankfulness, contemplate the future. For years past not only had Wisdom been crying in the streets, but the voice of the waters had reverberated from the mighty streams as they rushed unheeded and unchecked into the bosom of the sea, mocking, as it were, the short-sightedness of man, and reproaching a nation, which prides itself on its scientific resources, for not using the limitless treasures thus poured into its lap. But all is now changed. The opposition which for some time thwarted the energetic exhortations and zealous efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton has subsided, and we have at length accepted the great lesson taught to us by Nature. One of the most able officials of Government, Colonel Strachey, has become a champion of the cause, and irrigation is the fashion of the day. And if this be the case, it may perhaps be asked, what practical object is answered by recapitulating past facts? To this I would reply that, although the principle has been officially recognized, and an extensive system of irrigation and water-transit commenced (no less than 30,000,000*l.* being officially devoted to the great purpose), there is, as all unfortunately know, a vast difference between intention and action; there are such incidents as neglect, indifference, covert opposition, and *political economy*. Had we worked as laboriously and effectively as we might have done after the awful famine of 1866, the Government would have been in a far different position than it now is. With far greater facilities of supply, and more effective means of intercommunication, possibly the famine might have been altogether prevented. The practical object, therefore, is to impress upon all whom it may concern the unspeakable importance of zealous and unremitting exertions in carrying out the mighty work before us, and to convince all who seek the welfare of this great country, that far, im-

measurably far, above all other schemes of progress, or projects of improvement, above education, laws, administration of justice, or national enlightenment, more important than even roads, agricultural improvements, or scientific advancement, lies the one great good, the one sacred work for which England is responsible—*preservation of life*.

Mr. COOMARA SWAMY (Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon) said he felt he would be failing in his duty as a Hindu did he not avail himself of the earliest opportunity of thanking not only the gentleman who had read the exhaustive and thoughtful paper that evening, but also the press of England and the people of the country for the great interest and anxiety they showed to prevent or mitigate the famine in Bengal. He had only been in England a few months, and he saw that the public attention was necessarily occupied so much by the great affairs of home government and the troubles in Europe and Africa, that he could not have hoped to see much heed being given to anything occurring in India. Hence he confessed to being mightily pleased and surprised to find that the press and the public of this country were giving the subject all the attention they could command, and all the prominence that could be expected. There was but one feeling apparent, and that was that every exertion that the power of England could call into play should be used to protect the lives of the many millions of people who were threatened with famine. Mr. Tayler had remarked truly that the subject divided itself into two heads: firstly, the present famine, and the means which can be adopted to avert its disastrous consequences; and secondly, how shall famines be prevented in future? These were two distinct questions, whose difference should be carefully borne in mind; for while the question of how to prevent famines hereafter was a most useful one, it was not so imperative as the consideration of how to alleviate a famine which was at that moment impending over twenty, thirty, or forty millions of people. (Hear, hear.) The last point was the one which must be immediately considered; the other could wait. So many leading articles, lectures, letters, and papers had been written on the matter, that really there was hardly any room left for an original and useful suggestion. Yet, in taking action in the matter, they shall have first to consider what was the extent of the danger, over what space of country would the famine be felt, and what was the number of the people likely to be affected. Next they should consider what was the amount of food which it was estimated the people already had, and what was the deficiency; and the deficiency being ascertained, to devise measures to fully meet the wants of the people. Thirdly, all others were only preliminary considerations to the third and most vital point: Whence was the deficiency to be sup-

plied? And then, supposing that all this had been satisfactorily ascertained, there arose fourthly, also another most momentous question,—How is the food to be carried and distributed amongst so many millions of people? These four points must be well considered if they would hope to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem. Now, in regard to the first point—the extent of the district likely to be affected by famine—there was great diversity of opinion. The officials generally took a sanguine view, while less favourable reports came from Native observers. Of the two, he would be disposed to place reliance on the testimony of the Natives, for these mixed intimately with the people in an unofficial capacity, and gathered their facts from sources unknown to the officials—from the common people, the bazaar, the pilgrim, and the wayfarer. Upon these reports, it seemed too likely that the famine would affect, more or less, sixty or even seventy millions of people. As regards the next point, it was entirely dependent on the consideration—Where is the food to come from? Is it to be brought into India from other countries, or is it to be transmitted from one part of India to another; in other words, is the food in India to be prevented from going away, or is it to be purchased abroad? On this question, whether food should be allowed to be exported, he was aware there was also difference of opinion; although to him it seemed clear that if the food was exported it could not be stored, and that, as it was absolutely necessary to store, its exportation should be stopped. Some eminent authorities had expressed their opinion that the erection of granaries was totally unnecessary and useless, but he was glad to see the Government had not adopted that view, for, by the latest intelligence, they were making large stores of grain. And, indeed, if exportation of grain was not to be prohibited, it seemed imperatively necessary that food should be stored wherever possible, and this would have the effect of preventing exportation. On the other hand, if storage of grain was not to be the rule, then exportation should be prohibited. (Hear, hear.) All would see that to do the one is virtually to do the other. The difficulty about preventing exportation was, therefore, a mere illusion; for if the prohibition of export was bad, the effect of storage being identical, it must be bad also. And this, it is alleged, is being done. And if the Viceroy had been securing all the available food in the country, what was the use of quarrelling over the question whether they should allow food to be exported or not, as there can be no food to export? As regards the means of distributing the food in connection with relief works, it had been suggested by some that it should be given as *congee*; but people who were aware of the habits of the people, knew that this would be an insuperable task. A famine in India meant a famine and distress not only to the lowest classes, but to

all other classes also, including even the highest; and here the difficulty of caste prejudice would arise, for one caste would not partake of the *congee* prepared by another, or by unknown hands. In conclusion, the speaker urged that depôts of rice should be made ready in all parts of the country as soon as possible, and that food should be distributed irrespective of the initiation of the great relief works, which would probably come into operation only when the people were dead.

Mr. W. J. GRAZEBROOKE (President of the Association for Improving the Condition of British Seamen) said he had not exactly the claim upon the attention of the meeting which could be advanced by the previous speaker from India, who appealed to his hearers on behalf of his own brethren, but he did claim to be heard, as being one of the ruling race, to whom the responsibility would attach if this dire calamity be not averted from millions of our fellow-subjects. We conquered India, we displaced her ancient institutions, and we ruled these subject races, —who have added to the wealth, the dignity, and the glory of our empire. But if Empire has rights and privileges, Empire has its duties; and, if we allow these people to perish, we shall be dishonoured as a nation—we shall be dishonoured before all humanity, as a people having the power to subjugate, but not the ability to govern! The Indian gentleman who had just sat down thanked the English people for what we are doing, and for our sympathy; but in his opinion that was only our bare duty, and he, as an Englishman, was not content that at this moment we should be doing our bare duty. Was this a time to discuss whether it was in accordance with the dictates of political economy or not, to prohibit the exportation of food, and to consider at our leisure whether the interests of private traders would be injured? We have always been the “unready Saxon,” and he failed to see that steps were now being taken in any degree commensurate with the tremendous importance of the occasion. Whilst they were debating as to whether it were right to interfere with the principles of Free Trade, the people would perish—(hear, hear)—and whilst men were arguing whether or no we are to put on export duties on rice, the time for acting goes by, and famine stalks across the land. (Hear, hear.) He failed to find words to express the scorn he felt, when men talked of the injury to be done to the pockets of traders, when the lives of the millions committed to our charge are trembling in the balance. Hence he was not satisfied in trusting this tremendous national responsibility to the care of any one man. Lord Northbrook may be a great administrator. If he has mind enough to rise to the magnitude of the occasion, he has not power enough unless supported by the popular voice of many public meetings, and by the press. If the means taken are found to be ridiculously

inadequate, the Governor-General might live to be blamed; but that will not restore the millions dead. Will that wipe out the burning disgrace, the blood-guiltiness that would attach to our nation? Listen to the accusation: "You Englishmen undertook to govern these countless millions—you obtained wealth from these millions; and, at the hour of need, although amply warned, you failed, with all your wealth and vast mechanical resources, to find food enough for these starving millions." Here, in England, impending famine would be met by the laws of supply and demand. The speculators would find the money to bring the surplus stores of the world to our shores. There, in India, the famine which starves has also utterly impoverished, so that the laws of supply and demand cannot operate of themselves. Hence it becomes the duty of the Government to act as the Father of the people, and to find the means to bring the food for the suffering peoples in their hour of need. The Government has the means; the Government can command the gold. Let it be charged to the debt of India if you will, and let it be used with no stinting hand whilst there is yet time. If five millions is thought enough, spend six; if ten millions is thought enough, provide twelve. Can you value gold more than human life? Better lavish a little more, than see many perish when it is too late, and stop, by Order of Council immediately, the exportation of a sack of food. (Hear, hear.) Let the Government buy up all the food stuffs at fair prices, remunerative enough to the holders—say, at the price of the week before the Order in Council becomes known. Let not a bag of rice leave the country. Take the merchants into your counsel; offer them commissions as agents. Use all the machinery of your consuls and agents in other lands to buy food stuffs in all parts, and hurry them into the stricken land. *It will all be wanted.* Do you know that "one thousand ships, each of one thousand tons, can only bring enough to give forty millions of people one half-pound per day for three months?" It is from the magnitude of such an operation that I fear that Governments, such as we have now-a-days, cannot expand their minds unto. Hence the fear for the future, when it will be too late. Then, as to distribution. The Government has its network of officials spread all over the land;—use these, supplemented by local aid; the officials are the instruments, ready to your hand for the distribution. As to transport, all trade considerations must give way to the paramount duty of feeding the people. Next, as to the return for your expenditure—take heed lest you pauperise the land. Remember Ireland in the past. (Hear, hear.) Let work be found for all the able-bodied in works of utility—such as irrigation, tanks, canals, and wells—to prevent recurrence of famines in the land; also in roads and other works of public advantage.

Let the people be paid by ample food, or by the means to buy it at the Government prices charged, taking care that the rate for labour is such as to cause them to go back to more remunerative channels of industry as soon as possible. But the aged, the young, the sick, and the feeble are the country's charge, the direct care of the Government, and they must be fed with no niggard hand till plenty comes again upon the land. Our duty, our dignity as a nation demands that none of our fellow-subjects should perish. (Cheers.)

Colonel A. B. RATHBORNE said that allusion having been made to what is called the granary system, he should be glad to be allowed to say a few words in explanation of it, having had something to do with that system in Scinde. What has been called the granary system is simply the system of taking the revenue of grain crops in kind. So far from having originated in Scinde, or being confined to a province with a population half as large as that of Ireland, as has been stated, it was the system originated by the Caliph Omar, and which prevailed at one time not only over all India, but over Turkey, Arabia, Morocco, Spain, and wherever the Mahomedan rule extended. It is fully described in Mr. Baillie's work on the Mahomedan Land-tax of India, and in the Regulations of Akbar. Into the general question of taking the revenue in money or in kind he did not now propose to enter, but he would say that the system of taking it in kind had some advantages, both for the cultivator and the Government, which it would be as well not to overlook. As regards the cultivator, his rent being merely a share of the crop, he could close his account for the year with the Government by giving that share, instead of having to go in debt to the money-lender for money to pay his rent with, as he too often had to do at present; while, on the other hand, the Government, where it took the revenue in kind, always knew exactly what the crop amounted to, and had a large share in its own hands to meet cases of scarcity, like that of Bengal at present. What would not the Government give to have such reserves of grain there now? The system also compelled its officials to make themselves acquainted with the problems arising out of the food question, and so put them in a better position to meet emergencies of this kind. In dealing with such a case there were three points to be considered: first, the quantity of grain required for the food of the people in an ordinary average year; secondly, the extent to which that quantity was deficient; and, thirdly, what in consequence was the amount of the provision which would have to be made by the Government to meet the emergency. Now, as to the first point, it was a fact well known to those who understood these matters, that the grain consumed in an ordinary year, in a province of India, might be taken at

six bushels a-head of the population. The population of Bengal, therefore, being taken at sixty millions, and six bushels a-head being allowed for each of them, would give forty-five million quarters a-year as the ordinary extent of the consumption. In order to ascertain how far that amount is likely to be deficient, we must next see what is the ordinary crop of Bengal, and there is a ready way of gaining an approximate knowledge of this, which is as follows: Bengal, it is said, as a rule, not only feeds its entire population itself, but also exports about a million and a-quarter tons of grain annually, which is about five millions five hundred thousand quarters. Adding this, therefore, to the quantity consumed by the people in an average year, we find the whole produce of Bengal, in such a year, to amount to fifty millions five hundred thousand quarters. Accordingly, therefore, as it happens to be a half crop, or merely a two-fifths crop, we, by dividing the full crop by that figure, arrive easily at the deficiency. Thus, if it is a half crop, then there will be something over twenty-five millions of quarters towards the forty-five millions of quarters consumed in an ordinary year; or if the crop is merely two-fifths of the ordinary crop, there will be only twenty millions of quarters. But then, it must be remembered that a certain amount of deficiency can always be borne by a people. If the deficiency does not exceed a fourth of what is consumed in a good year, it will merely entail the necessity of economy, and the payment of higher prices. If the deficiency exceeds a fourth—extends, perhaps, to a third—that will give scarcity and distress, but will not create famine; or, in other words, death necessarily by starvation. It is only after that point has been reached—that is, when the deficiency extends to more than a third of the ordinary food supply—that the Government must step in and recognize the case as one of famine. This being so, we find that the famine point will have been reached in Bengal if, in lieu of the forty-five millions of quarters ordinarily consumed by its people, it has not more than thirty millions of quarters; and the difference between that amount and the actual amount of the crop is what the Government will have to provide for in some way. So that, if it is a half crop, the Government will have to see that five millions of additional quarters of grain are sent into Bengal, over its present supply, while it will have to see that ten million additional quarters are sent into it if the crop is but twenty million quarters; or, in other words, a two-fifths crop. To meet this, there is, to be sure, the spring crop; and wherever there is a failure of the rice crop this is generally more than usually abundant, because the deficiency of water, which ruins the rice crop, exposes a larger surface of land for the sowing of the spring crop. Still, as one goes downwards towards the delta of a river, the extent of land adapted for the rubbee, or

spring crop, becomes less and less, till it disappears altogether; so that he (Colonel Rathborne) should not expect the spring crop in Bengal to be more than a twentieth part of the autumn crop—say, two million five hundred thousand quarters. What will be left to make provision for will, it will be seen from the above, either be two million five hundred thousand quarters, if the crop is a half crop, or seven million five hundred quarters if the crop is a two-fifths one; and whatever may be left undone by private commercial enterprise, must be done, if the people's lives are to be saved, by the Government. It is said that the crop in the Punjaub and the North-west Provinces has been very abundant, so some help may be hoped for from that quarter; but it should be remembered, in sending down grain thence to Bengal, that rice-eaters, so far as his experience went, will not eat *bajree* if they can help it, neither does it agree with them, being so heating; so that the supplies from those quarters should consist as much as possible of *jowarree*, which is a cooler grain, and generally liked by rice-eating people. One word remained to be said about allowing the export of rice from Bengal under present circumstances. On this point he did not profess to be able to give any opinion; but, so far as his view of the case went, he thought it would be better to levy a moderate export duty on rice, and give a corresponding bounty on its importation, which, without any derangement of the ordinary laws of trade, would probably secure the object desired. However, be this as it may, it will not do to allow the people to starve; and whatever additional deficiency in the food supply may be caused by the export of rice must be met by corresponding additional imports into the province either by private enterprise or the Government. (Applause.)

Dr. ALEX. BURN said he had been in India more than thirty years, and had seen thousands of people starved to death in the famine of 1833. He advised assembling the people in places where water could be had, and there supplying them with grain, &c. In the hot season water was quite as necessary to life as food, more so when the temperature rose, as it would do, to 108 or 112. The tanks and wells of half the villages would be quite dried up, so the river-banks were the only safe places. The women could grind the grain and make thick porridge, the men bring in fuel and water to the *depôt*, and do the necessary scavenging work. In this way he had seen large bodies of people saved from death by starvation. If the Government purchased all the grain that the merchants of Egypt, Russia, America, &c., could land in Bombay and Calcutta, they would not have a bit too much; and this intention should be proclaimed at once by every possible means. Condiments, too, were necessary, such as salt and peppers. Even salt fish would be valuable; and there were large supplies of herrings in Scotland, and pilchards in Corn-

wall, this year, which might be had, he suggested, and sent by the Red Sea to Bombay and Calcutta.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the Bengalees would not eat these things. It was a matter of the greatest difficulty to induce them to eat anything but rice.

Dr. BURN continued: The collection of grain by the Government was a step in the right direction, but they could not hope to collect sufficient in India. He objected to an interference with the exportation of grain, because it would present insuperable difficulties, large portions of the rice being positively bought before it was grown, and any interference of Government would cause ruin to many. The Government should purchase grain at the ports, and the natural operations of commerce would do much to assist a solution of the difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN said he might remark, that there was no doubt that immense quantities of grain were being sent into the province by Native speculators, and the high prices would continue to attract large quantities there. The difficulty, however, was in the question of transport.

Dr. BURN said that to send food from wherever it could be had, out of India, to India, was the great and only pressing question; depend upon it, where the rains had so signally failed, they could not send too much. Nearly four months had elapsed, and almost nothing had been done; in three more the fearful hot season would have commenced, when but little could be done. He did not blame the Government entirely; the Natives of India had equally not believed. In the spendthrift, neglectful style in which they lived, they ignored the recurrence of great famines. During the last forty years he had repeatedly brought to the notice of Government and to the people, in the *Times of India*, &c., by letters, that the village system of combined labour, with its eighteen months' stores of grain, fodder, and water, was the only safe and rational plan of living in India. Rice, the universal food of the Hindu, he had repeatedly pointed out as the only grain that will keep from ten to twenty years, and was, therefore, specially designed by Almighty God for protection against the unfailing famines. The great usefulness of systems of irrigation he in no way denied,—not a drop of river water should run waste into the sea that could be availed of; but all the irrigation that could be brought into play during the next fifty or hundred years would be as a flea-bite when compared with the village agricultural system, and even after that, barely enough to grow grass and fodder to keep the cattle alive. India was annually being impoverished by reason of the foolish agricultural system, introduced within the last forty years, of making each man independent of his neighbour, in place of combining the labour, as formerly, of the village. If twenty millions or thirty millions

of people were affected by the famine, half only could be saved. All the children under five years of age must die, and about half the women; and fever, with dysentery, and want of salt and condiments, would exhaust a large portion of the men. Moreover, twenty years would not replace the cattle of the agriculturist.

Mr. CAMBAMPATI MEENACSHAYA said that, with regard to the question of the Bengal famine, he had little to say beyond what had already been said by preceding speakers. But on the question of permitting exports of food, it was, in his humble opinion, now high time for preventive action. In the period immediately preceding the famine in Orissa, the Government allowed itself to be deluded by the same fancied security and notions of political economy, and declined to interfere with the exportation of grain, whilst month after month immense quantities of food were being sent away from the country. At length the country was depleted, and the season being far advanced, the Government at length woke up, but far too late; and the result was the death of a million of people by starvation. (Hear, hear.) As regards the magnitude of the danger which was now impending, it could hardly be over-appreciated or exaggerated. It was said that fifty millions of people would be affected by the famine; and although this might be an exaggeration, it was certain that the statement made by others, that only twenty millions would be affected, was too sanguine a view of the position. At any rate, it was better to act upon the basis of a large estimate, and, therefore, the Government should, he thought, prepare themselves to provide food for at least thirty or thirty-five millions of people. Nevertheless, it appeared that large quantities of grain were being exported week by week, while the imports were not increasing. It was idle to urge now the principles of political economy; and the Government should set itself vigorously to work to keep the grain in the country. It would be too late a month or two hence, for at that time the Government would be at its wits' end to find food, and nothing on earth could help the Bengalee. He repeated his strong conviction that immediate action should be taken to prevent the export of grain. One other important point he would just allude to,—it had been mentioned by one of the preceding speakers. Under the ancient Governments of India, it was the practice to collect the revenue in kind, and in comparatively recent times this existed in Madras; but it is now no longer in use. This year, however, at least, the Government should be induced to revive the system; and the Madras Government should be instructed to collect the land-tax of the Presidency—or a large proportion of it—in the shape of the agricultural produce of the country, and this having been collected, it should be transported to Bengal for this emergency. On the general question of

famines in India, time would not admit of speaking upon it except in the briefest possible way. His own opinion was, that the weight of taxation had a most important bearing on the subject—(hear, hear)—and he was surprised it was not more frequently referred to in the examination of witnesses before the Indian Finance Committee. There was the undeniable fact that famines had become almost the normal condition of India. From 1861 to the present year there have been no fewer than four famines, and from three and a-half to four millions of people have been destroyed by them—by sheer want of food. That this should occur whilst the country was governed by a ruling nation, the wealthiest in the world and the readiest in resources, was creditable neither to the magnanimity nor the greatness of England. (Hear, hear.) No doubt all that had been said regarding the importance of irrigation was quite true; but India was so large—nearly as large as all Europe—that it formed a task of enormous difficulty; and, under the most favourable circumstances, it must take many long years before anything like a complete system of irrigation could be provided. What he urged was that, meantime, they should not let the people die. (Hear, hear.) Something should be done; and it was his firm belief that the land-tax of India is the root of the evil. (Hear, hear.) In the permanent settlement of Bengal, where ten-elevenths were levied by the Government, and one-eleventh was left to the zemindar, it might be said that the zemindar had prospered under the arrangement; but those who said this forgot that there was the poor cultivator, to whom was left only the barest subsistence in a good year, and nothing in the shape of surplus to fall back upon in bad seasons. (Hear, hear.) In an agricultural country like India, where trade was not fully developed, taxation really meant the compulsory sale of the produce of the country; and an increase of taxation meant an increase of that compulsory sale, for the taxation had been increased, not by the natural progress of the country, but by the imposition of new items and increased rates. The result was, that famines came more frequently. (Hear, hear.) The old East India Company kept its expenditure within reasonable bounds, and studied economy; but now it was not so; and hence, as he had said, famines had become the normal condition of India. If for nothing else, at least for pity of those dying millions, he begged that serious consideration should be given to the land revenue of India; for it kept the people in poverty and degradation, and was the true cause of calamities like the present. It was not necessary to inquire into other causes to ascertain why India is not progressing.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought it right to mention that the Indian Finance Committee were giving serious attention to the question of

the land taxation. There was, as he need not say, immense difference of opinion on the subject; but a great number of witnesses were being examined on the point, and the most scrupulous examination of the subject was being given by the Committee. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MEENACSHAYA said that, if India lost this opportunity of exposing her wrongs, such another opportunity would probably not occur in Parliament for the next twenty years. It was "now or never" for India, if justice was to be done. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. H. STOCQUELER said that what he was about to suggest would probably, he feared, call to mind Talleyrand's celebrated *mot*, "*Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas.*" Everybody talked of the necessity of supplying grain in various forms to the famine-stricken districts, but no one referred to the importance of a supply of water. Some of the speakers had objected to discussing the general question of famines with reference to the precautions to be taken in the future. For his own part, he was of a different opinion. So far as regarded the present juncture, in his humble judgment, the matter might safely be left in the hands of the Indian Government, who would probably do all that was possible, aided as they were by a multitude of counsellors upon the spot, to say nothing of the suggestions they received through the newspapers and other channels. The present must be left to take care of itself; and it was their duty to consider the future. The meeting was very much indebted to Mr. Tayler for his able address, and he entirely agreed with him as to the importance of extensive irrigation. This brought him to the simple suggestion to which he had referred at the beginning. They all knew that what should occur to the minds of everybody nobody thinks of. At the picnic, while everybody thinks of the pigeon-pie and the champagne, the corkscrew or the salt-cellar is forgotten. Now really, in a similar way, it seemed to be forgotten that, in respect to the Bengal famine, it was imperatively necessary to supply the people with water. The want of rain has made the rivers low; and, until the whole of India is covered with irrigation works, artificial means of obtaining water must be resorted to. Water, he need hardly say, was a most important element of food. A human being could subsist upon water alone for nine or ten days, with the addition of a little sugar, or even a little sand; while it was well known that a man who bathed in the morning could go without food for the entire day without inconvenience. And if it was true that water was a great sustainer of human life, it was still more so in the case of animals. A horse could go for seventeen days without an atom of food, if liberally supplied with water; and this abstention could be extended to twenty-five days by the addition of the merest handful of oats. Every means, therefore, should be adopted to carry water to the

people; and the means which suggested themselves to him were the digging of wells and the export of a large supply of British pumps. Water was to be found over large tracts of the country at a distance of from six to twelve feet below the surface, and these simple instruments would be sufficient to procure it in most cases; thus an element which, important as it is to all classes of people in ordinary circumstances, is the very life and religion of the Hindu, would be found.

Major EVANS BELL said there was one important point in relation to the distribution of the food which ought to be cleared up by some of the Bengalee gentlemen who were present, and that was, what is really the extent and bearing of the religious prejudices and rooted habits of the people of Bengal in respect to food? It had been stated that the prejudices of the Natives were so strong that they would not even eat the rice from Burnah.

Mr. TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS, referring to the remark of a preceding speaker, that a famine was the result of heavy taxation, said if there was any one fact in connection with the subject of the Bengal famine which was beyond contradiction, it was that it was entirely due to a failure in the fall of rain. The question was beyond argument; it was an incontestable fact. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE said Mr. Trelawney Saunders laboured under a misapprehension of the remarks of the Native speaker to whom he referred. When Mr. Meenachshaya said that taxation was one of the causes of the famine in India, he did not attribute the famine solely to that cause. What he meant to say was, that the taxation of the country was so heavy, that the calamity, when it came, was greatly intensified by that circumstance. (Hear, hear.) And about that there could be no question to any one who would examine the facts. In a very recent letter from the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*—a writer who would not hastily adopt wrong conclusions—the following remarks occur: “There is no impost in which the elements of widespread political danger lurk so dangerously as in the periodically increased land-tax. “On this point Lord Lawrence spoke before the East Indian Finance Committee with an emphasis to which all would do well to give heed. “Lord Northbrook seems to be aware of this, and his restraining influence “has just been exerted in the Punjaub in a way which I hope to “describe next week. Moreover, the connection between our land system “and famines is so close that the action of every ‘settlement’ officer “and provincial government needs to be jealously watched. The Oude “Rebellion taught us the political, and the famine of 1860-1, as well as “1866, the economic dangers of a system which upheaves Native “society every thirty years, or more frequently, that the State may

"allow to the cultivating classes an ever-narrowing or never-increasing margin of subsistence. Colonel Baird Smith's Report and Sir Charles Wood's orders are full of wisdom." He would venture to give another extract from the same writer, which went in the same way to support the opinion that one of the causes which intensified the sufferings of the people in famines was to be found in the present system of taxation. "It is curious now to turn to Lord Clive's defence of himself in the House of Commons, in March, 1772, against the charge that his salt, betel-nut, and tobacco monopoly had intensified, if not caused, the famine of 1770. He mentions the ryot's average income then as what the lowest class of labourers in the most isolated districts get now, or four shillings per month. He estimates the peasant's consumption of salt at twenty pounds a-year, costing half-a-crown; but we know it is really forty pounds for himself and family, and the duty alone on that quantity is now six shillings and sixpence in Bengal, including Orissa, though less in Madras and Bombay, the last of which is now clamouring against a vexatious and silly attempt of the local government to make the monopoly more severe." Could anything be more clear than that a cultivator earning a pittance like that, and crushed by such an enormous per-centage of taxation, must be a ready victim to famine? Miserable as was the ryot's lot in the best of times, the taxation intensified his wretchedness, and left him without a remnant of protection against the approach of famine. It therefore behoved the Government and the people of this country to take these facts into consideration. In the Bombay Presidency, from which he came, famines and periods of scarcity were very common; they took place, on an average, every third year, and relief works have from time to time been put into operation to alleviate the misery of the suffering population, whose wretchedness was, beyond a doubt, greatly intensified by the heaviness of the salt and the land-tax. And yet it would hardly be believed that this land-tax, instead of being lessened, was being considerably increased. As soon as the agreements under which the land is held by the cultivators for a fixed term of years come to an end, the land-tax is enhanced 25, 50, 100, and even 200 per cent. (Hear, hear.) The people could not bear this increasing incubus of taxation, especially in a country naturally subject to frequent droughts; and therefore it was time that remedial measures were devised to lessen the misery of the people by lessening the taxation by which they were oppressed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Jones urged that it would be an unwise policy for the Government to put the people largely on public works. Every land-holder should be attending to his land, so that at the next season he would be prepared to secure a proper crop; whereas, if the man was taken from his own

work to labour on public works, it was obvious his fields would be neglected. Mr. Jones further suggested that the military should be employed in distributing stores to the villages in Bengal.

Major-General F. C. Corron agreed with those who advocated a prohibitory duty on the export of food. If grain once leaves the villages of the distant interior, no supply from without can ever replace it; and he agreed with Mr. Grazebrooke, that supplies of food, as ample as circumstances admitted of, should be sent at once to every part of the country, while the cattle are alive and its carriage is practicable. In the terrible famine of 1833, Madras became crowded with starving people from the country, and a depôt of rice was formed, thirty miles north of the city, to tempt the dangerous multitude to leave it, which they did, and 100,000 at least congregated round the depôt, where a scene of horror was witnessed, such as no one who did not see it could at all conceive. In such a multitude it was impossible to discriminate between those who did and those who did not require help; and with the dead covering the plain in all directions, every crime was perpetrated, without the possibility of inquiry or prevention. In a famine the whole population is demoralized, but evils are at their greatest when a multitude fed gratuitously are congregated in one spot, and the able-bodied, the most capable for mischief, are unemployed. He repeated, that food for export should not be drawn from the country, to which a supply never could be returned, and that all the grain procured should be sent at once to as many centres as it is possible to manage. For the prevention of famine hereafter, the best, indeed the only absolute security is, he urged, the utilization of all water by irrigation and navigable canals, which, under the management of an active agricultural department, would be effectual everywhere; and he would ask, where is the new Department of Agriculture? At such a crisis it surely ought to be heard demanding a supply of water for the future on every available acre of the country, the fertility of which it will be held responsible for. But it would appear that the only enthusiasm on this point is still in the Engineer Department, on which the labour, responsibility, and odium of expenditure falls, while those on whom the productiveness of the soil should depend stand motionless.

Mr. TAYLER, in replying, said he took some blame to himself for the discursive character of the discussion, inasmuch as he had ventured to enter upon the question of the prevention of future famines. But he had done this, first, because it had only been very lightly and incidentally touched upon by Sir Bartle Frere, in his address to the India Committee of the Society of Arts, on the previous Friday; and secondly, because it is in human nature that a present distress or a present

emergency does lead us naturally to look to the means of future prevention. It was an old saying that it required the death of a Bishop or a Duke to direct attention to the dangerous state of roads or carriages, and certainly it had seemed to require the murder of a Chief Justice and the assassination of a Viceroy to direct public attention to the reality of Wahabee intrigue in India. And in the same way, no doubt, the reality of a famine in Bengal would induce the consideration of the general subject of the cause and prevention of famines. That night the discussion had branched out so widely, that at that advanced hour they were far from having exhausted the matter; he was, however, necessarily precluded, by the inexorable timepiece, from entering into any of the questions which had been raised; indeed, to fully consider them would require so much time, that probably the famine would be over, and have destroyed a million or two of the people, before the matter was thoroughly discussed! The one great point of pressing importance was the storing of food; but the authorities on the spot were the people to judge how it is to be collected, how stored, and how distributed; and upon them the responsibility would lie. And he would add, what indeed he had said before, that the men at the head of affairs in India were pre-eminently the men in whom the country might justly repose confidence. And here he might remark, that, in speaking of the storing of food in Patna, it was not store-houses to meet a present emergency to which he adverted,—that had already been done by the present Viceroy; but the granaries he spoke of were part of a permanent system instituted by the Government, and this it was that was generally allowed to have been a mistake. He was glad to hear speakers refer to the question of taxation in relation to famines; for, to his mind, taxation was at the root of the want of prosperity in the Indian people; but this was a subject of a very large character, and it was impossible to enter upon it now. At all events, he was thankful to think that his poor paper had led to such an animated discussion. *En passant*, he might express his entire concurrence with the sentiments expressed in the eloquent speech of Mr. Grazebrooke, although he thought that even that speech, impressive as it was, did injustice to the authorities in India. It touched the feelings of the meeting, and pressed upon us our duty, as Englishmen, to save the Bengal people; but to some extent it seemed to ignore the fact that that is the very thing in which every officer in India is at this moment engaged with all his strength, and such an amount of vigour and earnestness has rarely been exhibited in India—a spirit which it was deeply gratifying to see in operation. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, Mr. Tayler expressed a hope that the discussion which had taken place would show to the people of

India that the East India Association deeply sympathized with their distress and sufferings. (Hear, hear.)

• A vote of thanks to Mr. Tayler and the Chairman having been carried unanimously, the proceedings terminated.

The Right of India to Representation in Government, the Work of the East India Association, the Duty of Indian Political Associations, and their Relation towards the Government.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF BOMBAY.

By ILTUDUS PRICHARD, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

At the invitation of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association, a crowded audience, comprising most of the leaders of Native public opinion in Bombay, assembled at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, on Monday, November 10th, 1873, to hear an address on Indian affairs by Mr. Iltudus T. Prichard, a gentleman well known for his connection with the East India Association, and for his zealous endeavours to inculcate a taste for Indian topics amongst the people of England. Rao Sahib Viswanath Narayen Mundlik (in the absence, through indisposition, of the President of the Association, the Hon. Munguldas Nathoobhoy) presided, and briefly introduced the lecturer to the meeting.

Mr. ILTUDUS PRICHARD, who on rising was received with loud applause, said: I have the utmost possible satisfaction in expressing the great gratification I have felt at the reception you have been kind enough to accord to me this evening; and I take this opportunity of returning thanks to the Bombay Association for the exceedingly flattering and complimentary vote of thanks which they did me the honour of passing some little time ago, and which I received in England. I noted, on my return to England some five years ago, that there was a very general desire, both among members of Parliament and the public, to acquire some practical knowledge, if they could, about India. Wherever I went I found that there was a great interest taken in the present condition and future welfare of this country, and there appeared to me to be a great lack of means whereby information on those topics could be conveyed. You will excuse me for speaking thus much about myself; but that was the reason why I took it in hand, as far as my abilities would allow me, to bring the subject of India before several public

institutions in London, and in the large cities of the provinces, such as Birmingham, Plymouth, and Bristol; and in doing so I was gratified to find that wherever I went and spoke on the subject of India I was listened to with attention and interest. (Applause.) This much I say as regards myself, and I should like to take this opportunity of making a few brief remarks to you upon some of those important public questions which have lately been so much discussed both in this country and in England.

You will, of course, understand that it would be utterly impossible for me in one afternoon to touch upon all those questions that are at present in so many of your minds. I shall, therefore, confine my remarks to one or two of those fundamental principles which seem to me to underlie all those other questions of public interest which have lately been the subject of discussion. Not that these questions themselves are not matters of very great importance; they are matters of the utmost possible importance, and of the highest magnitude, as relating to the interests of this country and of the relations between British India and the rest of the British empire. But, at the same time, I think you will agree with me, when you have heard the few remarks I have to make, that, important as these questions are, they, notwithstanding, rest upon those fundamental principles which I shall point out, and the solution of them depends very much upon the way in which those fundamental principles are dealt with. For instance, if we take that important and interesting question, the admission into the Civil Service of the Natives of this country, or the question which is uppermost in men's minds just at present—hasty legislation—(applause)—or the presentation and passing of the Indian Budget through the House of Commons, where the budget is voted in a lump, without the slightest discussion on the several allotments,—you will see, I think, that they are all based upon that fundamental principle, the question of Representative Government. (Applause.) I say representative Government; I also mean representation in Government, and I shall show you by-and-by why I made use particularly of that illustration.

Another fundamental principle, upon which a great deal rests, is the determination of the question, where does the governing authority of India rest? Is it in this country, or is it in the Home Government? And the third and last of the important fundamental principles I wish to notice is the relation in which such associations, for instance, as that which I have the honour of addressing—the East India Association, and others—in what relation do they stand towards the Government of this country?

Now, I could not have a more forcible illustration ready made

to hand in dealing with the first of these questions—the right of India to representation in Government—than that which has occurred since my arrival in Bombay—the discussion in the Town Hall upon the Salt Bill, and the charge of over-hasty legislation. (Applause.) I am not prepared to go in detail into the question of the Salt Bill, not having studied the Act, and therefore, as a lawyer, I fear to express any opinions upon it. But I say this much, that if the description of that Bill which was given in the Town Hall be a correct one—and I presume, as Mr. Pedder, who came on the part of Government to advocate the measure, took no exception to the description given by its opponents, that it is accurate and not exaggerated—then I say that a more extraordinary piece of legislation never issued from any legislative assembly in the civilized world. (Loud applause and laughter.) The quaintest feature about the whole affair, and one which caused me an immense amount of amusement, is, that Mr. Pedder, while he came there as an advocate of the Government, actually admitted the charge of hasty legislation which he was there to refute. (Applause.) Though he said that this measure was not one that had been carried out in a hasty manner—for it had been, in one shape or another, under the consideration of the Government for ten years, and in the shape of the Bill itself for three years—yet he admitted that the public had been allowed, with all their imperfect means of acquiring knowledge of the details and considering the question, only three months in which to express their opinion. (Hear, hear.) If the Governor himself had come down to the Town Hall, and had got up and said, “Gentlemen, I freely admit every word that you have put forward as regards over-hasty legislation in this matter,” that admission could not have been more full and complete than was the admission made by the advocate of the Government, Mr. Pedder. (Applause.) I can only say that if this piece of legislation is the result of three years’ incubation of the Bombay Legislative Council, it is much to be regretted, in the interests of science, seeing what an extraordinary *lusus juris* has been the result of these three years’ incubation, that incubation had not been allowed to continue for a longer period, for then we might have had produced some extraordinary monster of legislative wisdom that would have astonished the world. (Laughter and applause.) I think the people of Bombay need be under no apprehension as regards this Bill, for I feel myself perfectly persuaded that, if it is not vetoed by the Governor-General, it will be vetoed by the Home Government, amidst the laughter of every lawyer in England. (Applause.) It is, I think, perfectly clear to every one who considers the matter from an impartial point of view that the defect which lies at the root of all the mis-

takes which are committed by our Legislature is, that there are no means, no machinery, provided by which they can arrive at the opinion of the public of this country. There is no representation in Government.

I think that the complaint often made by the independent members of the Legislative Councils, that they are always in a minority, and always liable to be outvoted by the official majority, is not always unreasonable; but, at the same time, you must admit that the power exercised by a Ministerial majority in the House of Commons, especially such a majority as Mr. Gladstone has had in his support for five out of the six years during which the present Parliament has been in existence, is of the same nature as that exercised by a majority in our Legislative Councils.

But the real defect lies deeper, and it is this, that if the official majority in our Legislative Council—by which I mean the Government nominees—in any way represented various sections of public opinion in this country, then I think all cause of complaint would be removed. I do not understand why, when the constitution of our Legislative Councils was being drawn out, some effort was not made, on the part of those who developed that constitution, to secure that the official members of the Legislative Council and the Government nominees should be men selected with reference to their various qualifications in expressing the opinions of various sections of the people. It seems to me that from the date on which Her Majesty's Proclamation was published to this country there accrued to the people of India, under the principles of the British Constitution, a right to representation in Government. This is the one important principle that you should lay hold of, and that you should keep on urging, by every constitutional means in your power, upon the attention of Government. (Hear, hear.) For I am persuaded that this lies at the root of all the grievances that you complain of. I brought forward this matter in England, as perhaps some of you may be aware; but I was not the first to moot it. At the first discussion which took place after my paper had been read, Mr. Eastwick, M.P. for Falmouth, informed me that he had brought forward the same proposition two or three years before, backed up by very much the same arguments that I had used, but with one additional argument—namely, that in those countries in Europe, such as Portugal and Spain, which have possessions in foreign parts holding the same relation to the central power that India does to England, those possessions regularly, and as a matter of course, send representatives to the Assembly in the metropolis of the central power.

On the second occasion when this question was debated, an allegation was made—an allegation you will frequently hear made when—

ever the subject is discussed, and which those who are acquainted with the ancient history and institutions of India will at once agree with me, is utterly groundless—namely, that representative institutions are utterly foreign to the people of India. I say it is no such thing. (Hear, hear.) I say that the ancient history of India shows that representative institutions are indigenous to this country. (Applause.) Well, in reply to that allegation Sir Vincent Eyre got up and said that a friend of his was the representative elected by the French possession of Pondicherry to represent them in the French Parliament at Paris. Such is the case there; they send a member regularly elected, just as a member of Parliament in England or a member of the French Assembly is elected. And I see no reason why the people of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras should not do likewise. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I would urge upon you, gentlemen, who are leaders of thought and public opinion in this Western Presidency, with all the force I am capable of using, to lay hold of this one great fact, that from the date of the Proclamation of 1858 there accrued to the people of India a right to representation in Government. (Applause.) Lay hold of that, urge it continually, and eventually you must succeed. This, I say, is the fundamental principle that underlies all those great questions which have given so much cause for agitation. When I speak of representation it does not necessarily imply representation in Parliament, but that the people of India should be represented somewhere—either in the local Legislative Council, or in the India Council, or in the British Imperial Parliament. I do not say which; but, until they are represented, I am very much afraid that much of the dissatisfaction that now exists amongst almost all classes will hardly cease.

The second fundamental point on which I wish to say a word or two is so important for you to consider, that I wish to bring it before you as clearly as I can, and that is the answer to the question, where does the governing authority of India lie—is it in the Governor-General in Council, or is it at Westminster? As far as I can see, the influence of public opinion on the Home Government is very little understood in this country. I wish to impress upon you this fact, that, in my opinion—and, mind, I am not discussing now the abstract question as to where the governing power should lie, whether here or there; there are many who would be very glad to see the whole of the authority committed to the Viceroy in Council in this country, without the possibility of any interference on the part of the Home Government; but I offer no opinion as to whether that would be right or wrong, judicious or injudicious; the discussion of abstract questions is of very little practical use; what I am dealing with is the actual condition of affairs under

which we now stand,—I want to impress upon you the fact that the influence of the Home Government, which in its turn is influenced by the public opinion of England, and in other ways, is a great deal more than you have any idea of; and therefore, that in agitating public questions locally in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other large centres of population, there is a great waste of energy. Take my word for it, that the energy shown in agitating these public questions in this country would, if that energy were spent upon the Home Government and the public opinion in England, be productive of a great deal more satisfactory results. I am perfectly aware that it is a great satisfaction to every one to see some immediate result from their labours and agitations in the shape of speeches in the Town Hall, memorials, petitions, or addresses to Government, and leading articles in your ably-conducted local journals. All these things are matters of extreme gratification to those gentlemen who take an interest in public affairs; but I tell you candidly my opinion, from what I have seen, and so far as I am able to grasp the subject, that the energy which, as I said before, is thrown away in this country, would be spent to good purpose if it were spent in England. (Hear, hear.)

This brings me, by an easy gradation, to mention the East India Association, upon the Council of which I have the honour of a seat. I think the East India Association is really doing a very great work in London, and I am of the opinion that it is well worthy of the hearty and unanimous support of every Native of this country. (Applause.) I am not here, mind you, gentlemen, to advocate the interests of the East India Association in a pecuniary point of view; what I call for is your moral support. The actual material support will be canvassed, I dare say, by much abler men than I. What I ask you for now is your hearty moral support to that institution, which is, considering the work it has to do and what it has to work against, working up in a wonderful manner public opinion in England on Indian questions. Therefore, I say, it is worthy of your hearty and unanimous support. I take care to mention that one fact about myself lest, perchance, I should fall under the ban of some high Bombay official, who may rush into print and describe me as a professional agitator going about the country and putting his hands into your pockets. (Laughter and applause.) I am incapable myself of such a thing, but I know the same thing was said of a gentleman who is equally as incapable of it as I am. I think our sympathies should be shown to our friend, Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee; for while he was being bearded by Mr. Ayrton—and nobody knows how to beard a witness better than Mr. Ayrton—he was being attacked from behind in this country in what I cannot but consider a very dastardly

manner, and scandalous imputations were being thrown upon him, which have been shown to be utterly unfounded. (Hear, hear.) Lest a similar imputation should be thrown upon me, I have ventured thus far to explain my object.

I come now to the third of these fundamental points—the relations in which such associations as that which I have the honour of addressing—the East India Association, and others—stand with regard to Government. From all I can hear—and I am extremely pained and grieved to hear it—these associations are stigmatized by the official world generally, and by members of Government, as—what shall I say?—seditious and disaffected bodies—bodies which are doing mischief and creating disaffection and discontent among the people. To me it seems scarcely possible that an idea so utterly foolish and absurd should take possession of the minds of reasonable men. (Hear, hear.) What should we say, do you suppose, in England—and those of you, among whom I see many old friends, who have been in England will bear me out—if any one upon the hustings, or upon the platform at a public meeting, were to denounce some Ministerial measure in the strongest possible terms as unsuitable to the country, mischievous, anything you like,—what would be thought in England if a man making any remarks commenting unfavourably upon a Ministerial measure, was to be denounced as seditious and disaffected? The idea is too laughable, too absurd, to be conceived. Why, then, should it be in this country? When associations like those I have named take up public questions and view them from all sides in order to point out the truth and get, if possible, at the real gist of the matter under discussion, why should they be stigmatized as seditious or disaffected, or anything of the kind? The idea is purely Anglo-Indian—that is the only word by which I can express my meaning. It could only enter the minds of men who live in a charmed circle, out of which they never venture to mingle with the outside world, and into which the truth can never reach them, except in matters in which their own official routine is concerned. (Hear, hear.) We give the Government of India credit for the best intentions. The Government of India is actuated by the best and most honourable of motives towards this country. Their whole endeavour is to govern this country on the fairest and soundest principles, which is to govern the country for the greatest good of the greatest number. That, I say, we give them the fullest credit for. Well then, when we call to mind the utter want of any representation of the public opinion of this country in the Legislative Council, what greater aid, ally, support, could they have than associations of this nature, which take up public questions. Therefore, it is the greatest mistake in the world—a fatal mistake—for

the official class to stigmatize the meetings of associations of this nature as hostile to Government. They are, on the contrary, the greatest ally and support that any Government could have, especially in this country, where there is an utter absence of any other means of ascertaining the opinions of the people. I think we may well afford to disregard these stigmas and imputations that are cast upon us. Our intentions are honest, and our endeavours are directed, not to oppose the Government of this country, but to assist them in every way we can, and make all Government measures popular, and such as shall suit the people and meet the necessities of the case.

Well, especially, may you, gentlemen of Bombay, be content to disregard those sneers and innuendoes that I hear so frequently cast on these associations and on the leaders of public opinion in the capital of this Presidency; for, when I look around me and see the evidences of that intellectual activity which is at work among you in this large city, I can only say that I stand amazed that any such thing could be possible. Possessing one of the finest harbours in the world, with a population of half a million—a population larger than that of Liverpool—and with all those signs of intellectual and commercial activity among you, standing as Bombay does in a situation geographically which renders her the Alexandria of the far East,—this capital has a noble destiny before it, and at the same time a great responsibility lies upon it. Bear with me while I remind you that greatness and nobility of character, whether in individuals or nations, is evidenced by the recognition of that principle, that the highest duty of man is to live not for himself, but for his fellow-men. (Applause.) And every nation that has disregarded that principle, and instead of living for posterity has lived only for itself, has already set out on the road to ruin and decay. That principle of self-sacrifice lies the deepest of all in the instincts of our nature, and lays the greatest hold upon the human will. History will tell you this—not such history as is usually put into your hands under that name by men who know not what history is—stories, perhaps, of the adventures of some conqueror who waded through slaughter to a throne, depopulated provinces, and carried off whole populations to death or slavery. No; these men may have been great, if greatness is to be measured by the mischief and the misery one man may cause to his fellow-men; but real history traces the movement of thought—that movement which elevates a race into a nation, which teaches man his wants and how to supply them, leads him by the paths of industry and commerce to civilization, and develops those institutions and those systems of government which give a nation influence in the world. The wave of civilization which in former ages swept from East

to West is now, under the influence of this movement of thought of which I have spoken—which is in itself a spiritual emanation from the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and is now in the greatest possible activity over every quarter of the civilized world, showing itself in every phase of moral, social, religious, and political life—this wave of civilization, under the influence of that mysterious law which in some way or other seems to direct all the moral and material world, is now flowing back again from the West to the East. (Hear, hear.) Refuse it not because it is a foreign civilization, for it is not so. It carries with it in its train all the discoveries and improvements of art, science, and knowledge that go to make up the greatness and prosperity of a country. To you, the leaders of public opinion—to you, the leaders of thought in the capital of this Western Presidency—to you is entrusted the duty of seizing this spirit, this wave, when it comes, and transmitting it over the length and breadth of this continent until it revivifies and restores to life the Indian mind and intellect. With such a work before you, am I not right in saying that you may safely treat with silent contempt the sneers and innuendoes that are addressed to you by some of my fellow-countrymen, I am sorry to say, who, however high their official position may be, are unable to understand you and incapable of sympathizing with you? (Applause.) I say, you may treat them with the silence of contempt. Go on in the way you have chosen, carry out the work that you have already begun; so shall you be best fulfilling your duty to your countrymen—so shall you be best emulating those grand old progenitors of yours, the great sages of the ancient world, who, whether on the highlands of Persia or the plains of India, or in the cradle of the Aryan race, wherever that may be, were in their time leaders of thought and movers of public opinion in their world, and who have left a name for wisdom and philosophy which has survived the history of upwards of twenty centuries—(applause)—so shall you be best fulfilling your duty to your children's children and your posterity, and so shall you be best fulfilling your duty to the great Author of your being, whose movements indeed are hidden in mystery and can only be read by their results, but whose will it is, so far as we dare venture on its interpretation, that all the race of mankind shall make a continuous progress toward freedom, knowledge, and truth. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

A vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard was proposed by Mr. BAL MANGESH WAGLE, seconded by Mr. HORMUSJEE DADABHOY, Pleader, and carried by acclamation.

The meeting then terminated.

Literary Notices.

Notices of Works by Iltudus Prichard, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

MR. ILTUDUS PRICHARD, well known in literary and political circles by his "History of the Administration of India from 1858 to 1869,"* and other works, has just returned to India, after a sojourn in this country of a little more than four years. During that period, in addition to the above-mentioned work, which is a valuable book of reference to members of Parliament and all who wish to make themselves acquainted with the condition of affairs in India during the most eventful decade of the last half century, he has brought out, conjointly with Mr. Nasmith, a translation of Ortolan's "History of Roman Law;"† and, amid graver duties, has found time to publish "The Chronicles of Budgepore"‡ and "Ramnoddy's Appeal"§—amusing satires upon some of the distinctive features of Indian life and politics; the latter relating, in a most laughable way, the adventures of an ex-Indian Prince with a grievance in search of redress from Parliament.

Mr. Prichard, on his arrival in England, four years and a-half ago, set to work to endeavour to arouse public attention in England to Indian affairs, and his praiseworthy efforts in a great cause have been attended with considerable success. The address, delivered in London and in Birmingham in 1870, on the "Value of India to England," produced considerable effect in drawing attention to the importance of our Eastern possessions; while his addresses, delivered at the Society of Arts Rooms, under the auspices of the East India Association, on matters connected with India, have been acknowledged, by those who heard them and read them when in print, as masterly expositions of the subjects handled.

His address on "The Financial Administration of India," delivered in 1871, was instrumental in originating the discussions which led eventually to the withdrawal of the obnoxious Indian income-tax, and the formation of the Select Committee on Indian Finance.

* Macmillan and Co. Two vols., 8vo., price 21s.

† Butterworths. 8vo., price 28s.

‡ W. H. Allen and Co. Two vols., 8vo., 12s.

§ W. H. Allen and Co. 12mo., 1s.

Not less effective was his exposition of the Central Asian question, in which he exposed the danger to this country that lurked beneath the carefully-worded diplomatic paragraphs of Prince Gortchakoff's despatch of the 31st of January, 1873, and pointed out that, by acceding to the terms of this despatch, we imposed upon ourselves onerous political obligations in Afghanistan of a most dangerous kind. This was followed by the debate on Mr. Eastwick's motion in the House of Commons, which elicited a declaration from Mr. Gladstone that the terms of Prince Gortchakoff's despatch were to be only conditionally accepted, and resulted in the practical withdrawal of Russia from the position she had endeavoured to assume, and the abandonment of her effort to force England into what might have proved an awkward dilemma.

Mr. Prichard's address on the right of India to representation in Parliament, gave rise to two animated discussions, in which some of our most eminent Indian politicians took part; and although the scheme of representation proposed was voted at present impracticable, yet it was universally acknowledged that the claims of India were put forward with ability. It was elicited during this discussion that the French possessions in India do send representatives, duly elected by popular votes, to the French Assembly.

Mr. Prichard's public services to India have been acknowledged by a vote of thanks passed to him at a meeting of influential inhabitants of Bombay, which was duly recorded at the time in various journals in this country and in India.

His inaugural address as Chairman of Council of the Association in Aid of Social Progress in India, his address at the Social Science Congress at Plymouth last year, and his address at Plymouth to a public meeting on the same occasion, urge the claims of India on the attention of social economists in this country.

Another important subject to which this gentleman has drawn attention, is the necessity of some system by which the relations between the rulers of Native states and our own Government may be placed on a more satisfactory footing than at present; and the question has more than once occupied the attention of both Houses of Parliament, the members of which have largely availed themselves of information contributed by Mr. Prichard. Most of the members of the Government of India have, we believe, very generally admitted the necessity of the proposed reform, though difference of opinion exists as to the way in which it should be effected.

In addition to these labours and his professional pursuits, Mr. Prichard has found time to commence an educational series of elementary, scientific,

and historical works for India in English and the vernacular, Oordoo. One of the first of these works is an adaptation to Oordoo of "Nasmith's Practical Linguist System," by which the Oordoo-speaking population of India have now placed in their hands the means of acquiring rapidly and with facility a practical acquaintance with the English language. One of the works, which will engage Mr. Prichard's attention on his return to India will be to bring out this useful book in other dialects, so that in time the means of rapidly acquiring the English language may be placed in the hands of the Natives of every province in India.

Consultative Committees in India.

THE following letter has been addressed by the Council to the Under-Secretary of State for India, and its receipt has been duly acknowledged:—

November 21, 1873.

*To M. E. Grant-Duff, Esq., M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India,
India Office, S.W.*

SIR,—It having been intimated in the fourth paragraph of the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Finance, that the Committee "trust their inquiry will be brought to a close next Session," the Council of the East India Association desire, ere it be too late, to very respectfully submit to his Grace the Secretary of State for India the following considerations:—

1st. The Council, while expressing their grateful sense of what has been done by the Government of India towards obtaining fuller information on the important questions which form the subject into which the Select Committee of the House of Commons are appointed to inquire, and while recognizing the advantage of examining the Native gentlemen who are to appear as witnesses next Session, are still of opinion that so vast a subject as the Finance and Financial Administration of India will still demand further elucidation.

2nd. It is felt that when the present Committee of the House of Commons has finished its labours, it is more than probable that an interval of some years will elapse before Indian Finance will again become the subject of a similar investigation; and that measures which may be fairly and reasonably adopted now, while the Committee is still sitting, might subsequently be attended with various inconveniences not now attaching to them.

3rd. The Council would therefore suggest that the present is a favourable opportunity for appointing at all the great centres throughout India "Consultative Committees," formed partly of Europeans and partly of Natives, to make and receive suggestions as to the matters which form the subject of inquiry of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Council desire to call attention to the fact that a step of that kind has been suggested by a high authority, in his evidence before the Select Committee, under the name of Provincial Councils, though he appears to recommend the establishment of such Councils *en permanence*, while what is here suggested would be a temporary and experimental measure. The Council think that much valuable information might be acquired through these Consultative Committees as to localities which must necessarily be entirely passed over if the evidence be restricted to the small number of Native witnesses who can be examined in this country. They apprehend, too, that this measure need not delay the Report of the Select Committee, as the reports of the Committees in India might form a supplement to the Minutes of Evidence; or, should there be delay, the Council would submit that there would be ample compensation for this evil in the valuable additional information which would be thus acquired.

4th. The Council would express their hope that the extreme importance of the subject will be considered by his Grace to justify this further representation of their views regarding it.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

W. C. PALMER,

Hon. Secretary.

The following appeal to Electors, on behalf of India, was issued by the Council and inserted in the newspapers prior to the General Election:—

An Appeal on Behalf of India.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

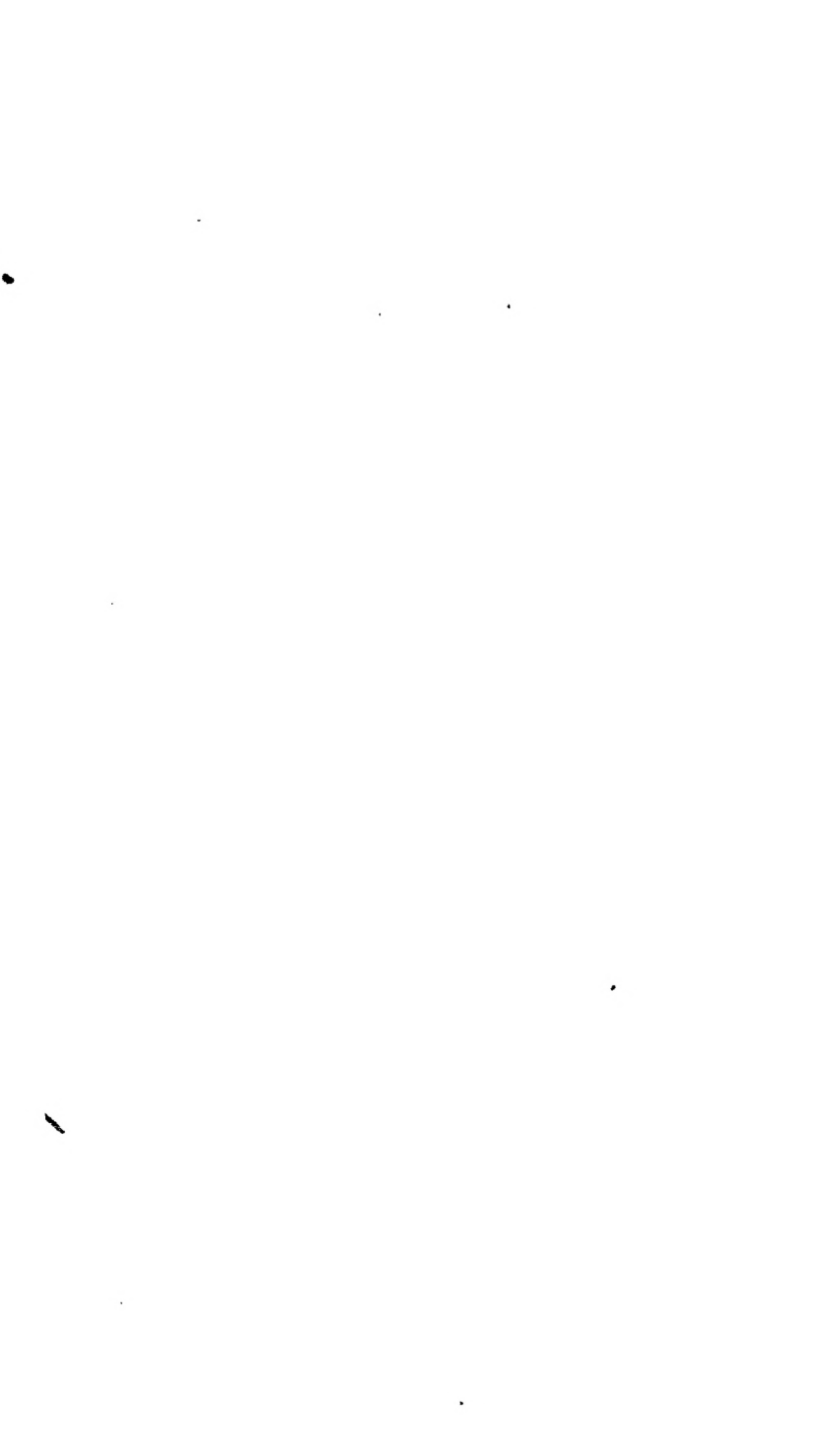
The East India Association, in the discharge of their duty to India, appeal to the Electors of the United Kingdom to impress on the Members they return to Parliament the necessity of their taking a deeper interest and bestowing more time on subjects affecting the interests of India, which underlie and are indissolubly bound up with the honour and welfare of the British Empire itself.

On behalf of the Council,

W. C. PALMER, Captain,

Hon. Secretary.

East India Association,
20, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
January 29, 1874.





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